

HISTORY of MALWA

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CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF MALWA.

In the glorious history of the Aryan culture and civilization, Malwa occupies a unique and enviable position. It has made most valuable contributions to the culture of India. In the field of art and learning it has played the most conspicuous part. Similarly it has attained the highest level of commercial and economic prosperity and thus was considered to be the commercial centre of international importance.

Malwa is the venerable land which has the proud privilege of having given birth to the celebrated personalities of world-renown, like Maharaja Vikramaditya, Maharaja Bhoj, Maharaja Munja and the godly queen Ahilyabai. It is needless to say that these personalities made their mark not only in the pages of Malwa history but in the history of India as well. It was this precious Malwa-soil which produced the immortal poet-laureates like Kalidas, Bhavabhuti and Ashadhar of international fame, into whose poems, sweet and matchless, the literates of this day dive deep and realize ineffable pleasure. It was this pious land which has the credit of producing women-scholars like Lilawati and Saraswati, the first of whom was ranked to be one of the best authorities on the science of mathematics and astronomy and the second who overcame the Jagad-guru Shankaracharya in philosophical discussions. In a word it may be said that the land of Malwa was the cradle of several illustrious astronomers, scientists, grammarians and men of letters

whose works are read by the learned scholars of this day with the greatest possible interest. It can safely be said that the land of Malwa produced some such souls of whose knowledge and literary productions not only India but the whole civilized world can be rightly proud of.

The ancient name of modern Malwa was Avanti. According to the late lamented Dr. Bhandarkar, Avanti was divided into two parts: the northern part had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part called Avanti Dakhshinpath had its capital at Mahissati or Mahishmati,—modern-Mahe-shwar-in Indore state. The well-known Buddhist scripture Mahagovind Sutta mentions Mahissati as the capital of the Avantis and refers to their king Vessabhu. The Mahabharata distinguishes between the kingdoms of Avanti and Mahishmati but locates Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti near the Narmada. (Narmada Sabhitah II, 31, 10).

The Puranas attribute the foundation of Mahismati, Avanti and Vidarbha to the scions of the Yadu family. The Aitareya Brahman also associates the Satvats and the Bhojas, branches of the Yadu family, with the southern realms (Matsya, 43-44; Vayu, 95-96; Ait. Br: VIII, 14).

The modern historical researches have thrown some dim light on Bhojas and Satvats of Vedic time. The term 'Bhoj' appears to be mentioned in the Rigveda though many scholars do not consider it to be tribal name there. Sayana also explains it otherwise (III, 53, 7). The Attraiya Brahmana speaks of the monarchs of the southern portion of Avanti, who were called Bhojas and whose subjects were called Satvats. In the Satpatha Brahmana (XIII, 5, 4, 21) the defeat of the Satvats by Bharata and his taking away the horse they had prepared for an Asvamedha sacrifice are referred to. From the Brahmanic evidences it is clear that these two tribes had spread over the Central and Southern India in very remote times. In the Sabhaparva of Mahabha-

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rata, a mention is made of Sahdeo's,—the youngest of the Pandava brothers,—expedition to the Bhoja-kata—the city of the Bhojas and his conquest of Avanti.

The Puranas style the 1st dynasty of Mahismati as Haihaya (Matsya, 43, 8-29; Vayu 94-5-29). The Haihaya family is referred to by such an ancient authority as Kautilya (Arthasastra P. 11). The Haihayas are said to have overthrown the Nagas who must have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the Narmada region. (Cf. Nagpur). The Matsya Purana mentions five branches of the Haihaya family, namely, Vitihotras, Bhojas, Avantis, Kundikeras or Tundikeras and Tamajanghas (43, 48-49). When the Vitihotras and Avantis passed away, a minister named Palika is said to have killed his master and anointed his own son Pradyota by force in the very sight of the kshatriyas. In the fourth century B. C. Avanti formed an integral part of the Magadhan Empire.

AVANTI IN VEDIC SCRIPTURES.

There are good many references of Avanti in the sacred literature of ancient Hindus. In many places of the Mahabharata a description is made of Avanti and its people the Avantyas. In the Brihat Sanhita (5, 40. 9, 17, 18, 11, 35) Avanti has been mentioned repeatedly. Similarly in many Aryan scriptures its greatness has been mentioned and it is counted as one of the holy towns in Aryawarta. In the Hindu Puranas the illustrious town of Avanti has been admitted as a seat of learning and knowledge. It is said that in this very town Lord Krishna received his education and training in arms and strategy from the learned professor Acharya Sandipan. Lord Mahabira—the 24th Tirthankara of the Jains—visited Avanti and here he underwent austerities. According to the Jain legends, Rudra—the Hindu deity—and his consort attempted to disturb his meditation, but it

was in vain. Here Lord Mahabira plunged into introspection and according to the sacred books of the Digambar Jains, he attained the Paryaya-gyan.

AVANTI IN MAHABHARATA .

The celebrated Hindu epic Mahabharata mentions Avanti in several places. When the great war between the pandavas and Kauravas was raised, Avanti was ruled by kings named Vinda and Anuvinda. These kings were the allies of the Kauravas. It is mentioned in Mahabharata that their armies numbered 1/5 of the whole forces of Kauravas (M.5, 19, 24). In this great war mention is repeatedly made of the prowess and influence of these two kings, being the Maharathis of their forces. The revered Bhishma has highly praised their matchless bravery and great power saying that they had caused a catastrophe in the battle (M. 5/166-8753). It needs no mention that these two princes had helped the Bhishma Pitamah of Mahabharata-fame a great deal and they were especially asked to make an assault on the great warrior Arjuna. They also made a desperate attack on the field-marshal Dhrishtadyumna and hemmed in Arjuna and fought with Bhimsen (M. 6, 113). When Dronacharya took the command of Kaurava forces, these two princes of Avanti exhibited unparalleled valour and bravery in the war (7, 14, 542, 25, 1028, 32). They met their heroic deaths in the historic battlefield of Kurukshetra while fighting with the great Arjun. A reference to these two warriors of Avanti has been also made in Karna Parva of Mahabharata in several places. The Bhishma Parva has given a geographical description of Avanti.

AVANTI IN PURANAS .

Hindu Puranas have got various references to Avanti. The Matsya Purana (43) says that the people of Avanti descended from the Haihaya race which produced the illus-

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trious Kart-Veeryarjun. He was a very powerful king. The name of one of his sons was Avanti, who was the father of that race. The Ling Purana says that Kartveeryarjun had hundred sons and four out of whom ruled over Avanti. According to Vishnu Purana (Chap.IX) and Padma Purana Avanti was one of the 16 Mahajanpads of India. One chapter of the Scandh Purana is exclusively devoted to the description of the people of Avanti. This chapter is called Avantikand. It says that the God Mahadeo came to Avanti after killing the demon Tripura. The Ayodhyakand of this Purana mentions that many Sadhus of Avanti with their disciples joined the war declared by Rama. The Hindu puranas also mention the relationship of the Royal House of Avanti and the Yadu House. According to Vishnu Purana and the Agni Purana the Princess of Yadu House was married to the Raja of Avanti. This princess was one of the five daughters of Raja Vasudeo—the father of Lord Krishna. The Vishnu Purana observes that this Princess gave birth to the two princes Vinda and Anuvinda, who were probably the same rulers of Avanti as have been referred to before. The Bal-Ramayan and Vatsyayan treatises on sexual science (काम सूत्र) speak of very highly about the beautiful damsels of Avanti. The illustrious Grammarian Panini also speaks of Avanti in his famous work—Ashthadhyayi.

AVANTI IN BUDDHISTIC & JAIN LITERATURE.

Several well-known works on Buddhism speak of Avanti in several places. The well-known Buddhistic scripture 'Angutar Nickkey' counts Avanti as one of the sixteen kingdoms then existed. It also speaks of its unequalled prosperity, jewellery and high level of civilization. According to Sir Charles Illiot (Hinduism and Buddhism Vol. I) Pali dialect originated in Avanti.

It clearly transpires from Buddhistic literature that during the Buddhistic age the Avanti Empire had achieved considerable influence and importance and was the centre of that religion and the home of the learned personalities like Abhaykumar, Ishdutt, Dharampal and Katyayan.

AVANTI IN THE TIME OF LORD BUDDHA.

Uptil now we have given the historical description of the important Avanti kingdom in the light of knowledge derived from Vedas, Brahmanas, Puranas and Buddhistic & Jain scriptures. Now coming to the beginning of a regular history we would throw light on the history of this great kingdom.

The readers of the history of the world are well aware that it was some where between six hundred and five hundred B. C., when Cesus was flourishing in Lydia and Cyrus was preparing to snatch Babylon from Nabonidus, that the great Lord Buddha and Lord Mahabira, the two great leaders of religious movements were born in India. They sent messages of peace and happiness to the suffering humanity and founded two great religions—Buddhism and Jainism respectively. They led the great religious movements of world significance. This was the turning point not only in the history of India but in the history of the whole man-kind. It is needless to say that these religious movements made their unique contribution to the mental and spiritual evolution of mankind. Many superstitions and cruelties practised in the holy name of religion were brought to an end. India's soul and mind were enlightened by the sacred teaching and nobler ideals of these great teachers and India sent her idealistic messages to the whole suffering world. In those days of enlightenment and knowledge the star of our Avanti kingdom was shining

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brilliantly in the political sphere. It was also one of the principal centres of these religious movements and was considered to be one of the 16 principal kingdoms of the day. At this time, when the Lord Buddha, the greatest personality that the world has ever produced, was giving his sacred message for the deliverance of humanity and Lord Mahabira was propagating his transcendental philosophy of life and human actions, Chandpradyota—one of the most powerful kings of the day,—was ruling over Avanti. This prince wielded considerable political influence over the rest of India. He was a king feared by his neighbours, is apparent from a statement of the well-known Buddhistic scripture “Majjhima Nikaya”, (III,7) that Ajatsatru, son of Bimbisara fortified his Rajgrah because he was afraid of an invasion of his territories by Pradyota. Regarding the character of Pradyota, ‘Mahavagga’ says that he was cruel (SBE XVII P. 187). The Hindu Puranas say that he was cruel and destitute of good policy. Many Jain and Buddhistic books also throw considerable light on the career of this prince but it is so much shrouded by exaggerations that to draw historical conclusions from them is almost an impossibility. But it can safely be said historically that he was a king of great political influence and had matrimonial relations with Udeyan of the Vatsa kingdom and the hero of many Indian legends. The commentry of the Dhammapada gives the story of the way in which Vasavadatta, the daughter of Pradyota—king of Avanti—became his wife. The Ratnawali tells us the story of the love of the king of Vatsa and of—Sagrika, an attendant of his queen Vasavadatta. It transpires from Meghadut that stories about Udeyan were widely current in Avanti in the time of Kalidas. This king, according to the Buddhistic scriptures, once suffered from Jaundice and the Magadha king sent his well-known physician Jiwaka to give him medical treatment. As we

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have said before it is very difficult to dis-entangle the kernel of historical truth from the husk of popular fables, we take the liberty of closing the chapter without further elucidation.

CHAPTER II.

THE VAST EMPIRE OF AVANTI .

It is shown before that Chandpradyota, the king of Avanti was a very powerful Ruler. His power was so overwhelming that his contemporary Ajatsatru, the emperor of Magadha, as stated in the previous chapter, fortified his capital for fear of his invasion. On Chandpradyota's death, his son Palak ascended the throne of Avanti. During his reign the star of Avanti shone more brilliantly as if the goddess of fortune favoured her. At this period the kingdoms of Anga, Vaishali and Kosala had been broken to pieces and all the kingdom in the East of India had come under the victorious flag of Avanti. According to the 'Kathasarit Sagar', the country upto Kausambi was absorbed in the Empire of Avanti which had no rival save Magadha.

According to Dr. Bhandarkar, king Palak was succeeded by his elder brother Gopal's son Aryak. Aryak's successor was Nandi-Vardhan also called Avantivardhan. Hindu Puranas mention that Sishunaga broke the power of this king of Pradyota family and established his sway over the Empire of Avanti. This fact is also corroborated by the tradition current in Ceylon. Now it is necessary here to give a brief account of the Sishunaga family.

AVANTI IN SISHUNAGA KINGDOM.

There is not a shadow of doubt that Sishunaga was a great king. According to the Puranas—Matsya and Vayu—he ruled for about 40 years. The Archiver of Sinhal Dweep predicted that he would be the destroyer of Pradyota family.

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The prediction proved to be true. This catastrophe occurred in the reign of Chandpradyot's great grand-son. This shows that Sishunaga lived after Bimbsara or Ajatsatru; which is corroborated by the famous antiquarians like Dr. Jayaswal, Dr. Bennett, Professors Bhandarkar and Chand. When Avanti came under Sishunaga is not certain. According to the Hindu mythologies Sishunaga was succeeded by his son Kakvarna; while according to the Buddhistic books of Sinhal Dweep Kalashok was the successor. Professors Jacobi, Bhandarkar and Geiger say that Kakvarna and Kalashok were one and the same person.

In the reign of Kalashok two prominent events occurred, *viz.*—(1) the Buddhistic convention at Visali and (2) reinstatement of Pataliputra as capital. 'Ban' in his Life of Harsha writes that Kalashok was slain by his Minister with his sword. This statement is supported by the contemporary Greek writers also. Kalashok ruled in all for 22 years. After his death, the Nanda dynasty succeeded the Nagas.

AVANTI UNDER NANDA DYNASTY.

It seems that after the annihilation of the Sishunaga dynasty, Malwa came under the suzerainty of Nanda dynasty. The name of the first Nanda king was Mahapadma according to the Puranas and Ugrasen according to the 'Mahabodhivansa', a Buddhist scripture. The Puranas show that his mother was a Sudra. Shree Hemchandracharya, a celebrated Jain author says that his father was a barber. Alexandar's Magadhian contemporary and the famous historian 'Curtius' is of opinion that Nanda's father was in fact a barber scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who, for his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affections of the queen and by her influence secured the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards,

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however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign; and then under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children usurped the supreme authority and having put the young princes to death occupied the throne. According to Harsha Charita, Nanda got the throne by killing Kalashok Kakvarna very cruelly. Poet Ban says that Kakvarn Sishunaga had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city.

The Matsya, Vayu and Brahaman Puranas say that Nandraj I, who was also called Mahapadma Ugrasen was a very powerful king. Having slain all the Kshatriya kings, he became the sole monarch of India. He broke the pride of his contemporary kings and consequently subjugated them. This Pauranic account of the unification of a considerable portion of India under Nanda's sceptre is corroborated by the classical writers, who speak of the most powerful peoples who dwelt beyond the Beas in the time of Alexandar as being under the sovereign who had his capital at Pali Bothara i.e. Pataliputra. They also dwell upon his great raj power. According to Kathasaritsagar the illustrious Nanda conquered Kosala. Several Mysore inscriptions also show that Kuntala, a province which included the Southern part of the Bombay Presidency and the North of Mysore, was ruled by the Nandas (Rice Mysore & Koorg from Inscriptions p. 3). The inscriptions in Elephanta caves at Kharwel show that the tracts called Kalinga were also under his rule. These inscriptions also mention that King Nanda carried away as trophies the statue (or foot-prints) of the first Jina and hairlooms of the Kalinga Kings to Magadha. From this it is presumed that Nanda professed the Jain creed.

The Matsya Purana says that the Nanda I ruled for about 89 years. This statement can not be credited in the face of other evidence. The Vayu Purana shows the duration

of his rule as 29 years. According to the famous historian Taranath Nanda ruled for 29 years (Indian Antiquary 1875 P. 362). This fact is also corroborated by the Ceylonese accounts of the Nanda dynasty.

After the demise of Mahapadma Ugrasen, his eight sons became the possessors of the kingdom and ruled for 22 years. But the Puranas mention only the name of one son of Mahapadma *Viz.* Sukalpal. The Mahabodhivansa gives the following names :—

Rashtapala, Govishanaka, Dasasiddhaka, Kaivarta and Dhana. The last king is called by the classical writers Agrammes or Xandrames. Agrammes is, as we have seen, probably the greek corruption of the Sanskrit patronymic Agrasainya.

The first Nanda left after him a vast kingdom and an overflowing treasury. Curteus says that Xandrames had for the protection of his kingdom 20,000 cavalry, 2 Lakhs infantry, 2000 four-horsed chariots and 3000 war elephants. Diodorus and Plutarch give similar accounts but they raise the number of elephants to 4,000 and 6,000 respectively.

Many historians admit that Nanda had enormous wealth. Professor S. K. Ayangar on page 89 of his "Beginning of the South Indian History" says that a Tamil poet has described his vast riches in glowing terms. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang is also of the same opinion. According to the Kathasaritsagar Nanda possessed 99 crores (990 millions) of gold coins.

We learn from the grammarian Panini's Ashtadhyayi (Sutras 2,4,11) that King Nanda was the originator of several weights and measures. The Kautilya Arthshastra, the Kamndaka's Nitisara, the Mudrarakshasa and several Puranas say that Kautilya the minister of Chandragupta Maurya was the destroyer of the Nanda family. But full historical information on this matter is not forth-coming.

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AVANTI IN MAURYA EMPIRE.

Readers of Indian history are all well aware of the fact that retirement of Alexandar the Great from the Punjab marks a turning point in the Indian history. It was followed by a memorable event. Prior to it, there has been no common power supreme over any very considerable area of India. During the 5th and 4th centuries B. C., as we saw, a tendency for the rise of such a power arose and the kingdom of Magadha helped by its favourable geographical position, by its succession of able kings and by an army strong in its elephant brigade, gradually won a pre-eminence over the other powers of Northern India. As we have observed before, Chandragupta Maurya with the help of great diplomate Chanakya overthrew the Nanda king—the wealthiest and most powerful ruler of the time. Chandragupta Maurya, who had headed a successful patriotic rising and who now turned his arms against the reigning dynasty of Magadha established himself firmly on the throne of Pataliputra and founded a new dynasty and a new era. This memorable event took place in about 321 B. C., This has marked the beginning of a new and prosperous epoch in Indian history as for the first time the greater part of India came under one king during his reign and that of his immediate successors Bindusara and Asoka. Chandragupta is regarded as the first historical emperor of India. He inherited from his Nanda predecessor a huge army which he increased until it numbered 30,000 cavalry, 9000 elephants, 600,000 infantry and a multitude of chariots. With this irresistible force he over-ran and subdued all the northern States probably as far as Nermada or even further (Smith's Early History of India P. 118). Plutarch tells (Alex LXII) us that he brought under his sway the whole of India. Justine also holds the same view

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and says that Chandragupta was in possession of India. Dr. Vincent Smith is of opinion that the dominions of Chandragupta, the first historical paramount sovereign or Emperor in India extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. (Early History of India P. 180).

The Romantic career of this great Emperor made vivid impressions on his contemporaries and many accounts of him are preserved in Hindu, Buddhist, Jain and even Greek legends. He was a great leader of men who combined in himself very high administrative and military talents and this can be proved by the rapidity with which he established his rule over the greater part of India and by the peaceful succession which followed his death. The Greek accounts describe him as a strong and vigorous Ruler, ever alert to put down crime and dis-affection.

CHANDRAGUPTA'S VICTORY OVER S E L E U C U S .

Justine informs us that while India was under Chandragupta, Seleucus, a general of Alexander, was laying the foundation of his future greatness. He made an expedition into India in or about 305 B. C. Appianus says that he crossed the Indus and waged war on Chandragupta, king of Indians, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him (Indian Antiquary Vol: VI P. 114). In Chandragupta, however, he met his match. The details of the conflict between these two great kings are obscure but from the result it is clear that Chandragupta proved too strong for the invader to overcome and Seleucus was perforce, obliged to retire and conclude a humiliating peace. This treaty may be dated in or about 303 B. C. It was ratified by matrimonial alliance, which phrase is taken to mean that Seleucus gave a daughter to Chandragupta. Seleucus retired beyond the Hindu-Kush Mountains

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and ceded to the great Indian Emperor all the provinces to the South and East of that range including the countries now called Afghanistan and Baloochistan. The Indian Kingdom thus obtained a splendid natural frontier, the recovery of which is, at the present day, the great aim of many Anglo-Indian Statesmen. It is needless to say that after the war the Indian and Syrian Emperors lived on friendly terms. Seleucus sent his ambassador—Megasthenes—to Chandragupta's court. He left behind him a capital account of what he saw and heard but unfortunately his great work, which would have been invaluable for the ancient history of India, has been lost. The fragments which survive in quotations by later authors like Strabo, Arrian, and others, have been collected by Schwan-beck and translated by M. Crindle. This work throws some light on the various aspects of Chandragupta's reign.

Recently Professor Shyam Shastri of Bangalore has secured an unique credit by discovering the most valuable treatise named Kautilya Arthashastra. This work was written by his Minister Chanakya to whose genius and loyalty the success of Chandragupta is attributed. This great work on policy and diplomacy made revolutionary changes in the ideas of the scholars of history. This has been supposed, even by Western scholars, to be one of the monumental works that deal with the various aspects of administrative machinery. This is the authoritative book from which we can gather much of the political and social conditions in Chandragupta's time.

THE PLACE OF AVANTI IN THE EMPIRE OF CHANDRAGUPTA.

Although Ujjaini was not the capital city of the Empire of Chandragupta, yet it was renowned to be a great

province in that it was fertile and paying. Chandragupta appointed his grandson Asokavardhan, who was kind-hearted, noble and able, as the Governor of Ujjaini, which province he ruled very ably for many years. Asoka married an accomplished princess of Visnagar or Vidisanagar. From her, he had 2 sons and 1 daughter. The names of the princes were Ujjain and Mahindi and that of the princess Sanghmitra. As Asoka had a great consideration for the town of Ujjain, he named his first son after it. In the life time of Chandragupta, Ujjain became prosperous in all respects. In consideration of the temple of Mahakali, it was a holy place. It carried on trade with distant countries. It is no exaggeration to say that Ujjain was the centre of trade and commerce. Greece, Egypt, Syria and Persia had commercial relations with Ujjain. The Buddhistic and Jain writers say that many multi-millionaires lived in this town. During Maharaja Asoka's Viceroyalty Ujjain prospered considerably. Taxila, Pataliputra, Ujjain, these three famous towns of the day, were considered very important. At these three places the goddess Mahakali, Mahalaxmi and Mahasarwati (the presiding deities of time, wealth and knowledge) lived together. Each of these cities had three Universities to which thousands of scholars resorted from distant places to learn various arts and sciences.

EMPEROR CHANDRAGUPTA'S RELIGIOUS INITIATION AT UJJAIN.

The inscriptions at Sravan-Belgola, the biography of Bhadrabahu and Trilok Pragnapti show that the Emperor Chandragupta was initiated into the Jain religion by the famous ascetic Bhadrabahu at Ujjain. So many evidences of Chandragupta's conversion to Jainism are available and Dr. Smith and Dr. Hemchandra Rai Chowdhary of Calcutta

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University take him to be a follower of Jain religion. It is, therefore, no wonder if Emperor Chandragupta came to Ujjain for conversion into Jainism. No satisfactory information is forthcoming about Maharaja Chandragupta's last age. That the emperor left his sovereignty in his last days, is known from Jain scriptures, but why did he do that and what he did afterwards are in obscurity. Therefore we are inclined to agree with Dr. Smith and Dr. Chowdhary in their opinions that Emperor Chandragupta was a professor of Jainism into which he got initiation from Swami Bhadrabahu. The ascetic Vrishall, in his book Trilok Pragnapti (written about 4th century Saka era) says :—

“ मउडु घरेसुं चरिमो जिण दिक्खं धरिदु चन्द-
गुत्तोय तत्तो मउडु धरादो पव्वज्जणेव गेव्हंति । ”

This means that Raja Chandragupta, the last of the crowned kings, accepted Jain religion and no Raja will do so in future.

LAST DAYS OF CHANDRAGUPTA.

Historians differ in presenting an account of the last days of Chandragupta. According to Jain tradition, Chandragupta abdicated the throne and became a Jain ascetic. He is said to have repaired to Mysore where he died (Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions pp. 3-4). Dr. Vincent Smith is not certain whether Chandragupta abdicated the throne or died in 298 B. C. and he says Chandragupta either abdicated or died in the year 298 B. C. although he is disposed to believe the truth of the Jain tradition in its main outline.

MAHARAJA BINDUSARA.

After the death of Chandragupta Maurya his son Bindusara occupied the throne. The latter was surnamed

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Amitraghata (Slayer of foes) a form which is quoted, perhaps with reference to this king, in the grammatical work of Patanjali. Dr. Fleet prefers the rendering Amitrakhada or devourer of enemies which is said to occur as an epithet of india (JRAS. 1109 p. 24).

The Hindu Puranas attribute to Bindusara a reign of 25 years, while the Ceylonese chronicles mention that he sat on the throne for 28 years. According to Dr. Hemchandra and Taranath, kautilya or Chanakya continued to serve as Minister for some time after the accession of Bindusar (Jacobi *parisishta parvan* p. 62; *Indian Ant*: 1875, p. 364). Taranath says that Chanakya was one of the great Ministers of Bindusar who having defeated 16 ruling princes extended his dominions from the East to the West upto the ocean. Some historians take this extension to mean the conquest of Deccan; but they seem to have forgotten the fact that in the time of the Mauryan Emperor Chandragupta, the dominions extended from Saurashtra to Bengal and from the Eastern ocean to the Western ocean. No inscription has been yet discovered showing that the Deccan was conquered by Bindusara.

In the reign of Bindusara, people had begun to revolt and they were put down. Perhaps this subsidence has reference to the re-conquest of 16 Districts as said above. It is recorded in 'Divyadan' that the people of Taxilla became law-less and Bindusara sent his son Asoka to put down this insurrection. The citizens of Taxilla greeted their prince out of the town and submitted that they had no complaints against the prince or the supreme Government. The object of their grievances was the Minister who persecuted and insulted them. Indeed the Government Officers at this time, oppressed the people of the districts lying far from the Mauryan seat of Government. In his inscription at Kalinga, the Emperor himself (vide 'Asoka' 1st Edition,

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pages 194-195) acknowledges the complaints to be true. In his royal speech the Emperor said:—

“All men are my children; and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men. You, however, do not grasp this truth in its full extent. Some individuals, perchance, pay heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this, for the principle of Government is well established. Again it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment or torture and when the result is his imprisonment without due cause, many other people are deeply grieved. In such a case you must desire to do justice.....and for this purpose, in accordance with the law of piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons as are of mild and temperate disposition and regardful to the sanctity of life, who knowing my this purpose will comply with my instructions. From Ujjain, however, the Prince, for this purpose, will send out a similar body of officials and will not overpass three years. In the same way from Taxilla.”

MAHARAJA BINDUSARA'S RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN POWERS.

We learn from classical writers that Maharaja Bindusara was on friendly terms with his contemporary Greek Emperor. Strabo and other historians of that time mention that the Syrian Emperor sent his ambassador Damacos to the court of Bindusara. Pliny tells that Philadelphos sent an envoy to the Court of Magadha. Athenaios, a Greek historian tells an anecdote of private friendly correspondence between Antiochos, king of Syria, and Bindusara which indicates that the Indian monarch communicated with his Hellenistic contemporaries on terms of equality and friendliness.

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It is said that once Maharaja Bindusara wrote to Antiochus asking him to buy and send in figs, grape-wine and a sophist. Antiochus sent in the required things except a sophist, replying that under the Grecian Law no sophist could be bought.

DEATH OF BINDUSARA.

As we have already said, there is a difference of opinion about the exact time of the death of Maharaja Bindusara. According to Hindu Puranas he died after a reign of 25 years, while according to the Ceylonese, chronicles after 28 years. According to Dr. Smith's Chronology, his reign terminated about 273 B. C. Dr. Hemchandra Rai however, observes in his political history of India that if the Ceylonese account be correct, the date of his death was 270 and not 273 B. C.

ASOKA.

Bindusara was succeeded by his son Asoka, who enjoyed the undivided sovereignty over all India. According to some Buddhistic scriptures he reigned without coronation for four years. Then he was crowned as Emperor in the city of Pataliputra. He assumed the title of Devanampiya (Cf., Rock. Ed: Ch. VIII) and used to speak of himself as Devanampiyadasi. We are now fortunate in possessing an authentic record of his reign in his inscriptions, which are the oldest and by far the most valuable historical records yet discovered in India.

Asoka was one of the greatest Monarchs the world has ever seen. In the words of Mr H. G Wells, the world-renowned historian, we would say that "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs, that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal Highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines and shines almost alone, a star". Asoka is rightly

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regarded as an incarnation of universal love, brotherhood and world peace. He was the true symbol of the higher principles and nobler teachings of Lord Buddha—the greatest world-teacher. For eight and twenty years, he worked sanely for the real needs of men and other living creatures. He made special marks in the columns of the history of mankind. Kindness to animal life, purity of mind and body, reverence and tolerance were the chief ideals of his rule. We dare say that the world has not produced such a ruler who extended his helping hand not only to the human-beings but to all the dumb animals who often fall prey to the pleasures and enjoyments of the so-called greatmen. Under this great Emperor, India reached the high watermark of material, moral and spiritual progress. She demonstrated her greatness as much in the sphere of ideals as in the sphere of practical achievements.

Coming by inheritance into the possession of a vast empire that extended from Afghanistan to Mysore, Asoka proceeded to endow and adorn it with manifold works of art and utility; with cities and palaces, Stupas and cave-dwellings in rocks, ornamental architecture and sculpture, showing finely executed figures of animals, birds, plants and flowers; with reservoirs, dams and sluices for irrigation; with wells, roads lined with trees and rest houses for travellers; hospitals for both men and animals and botanical gardens for the culture of medicinal plants as sources of medicines for the people, and so forth. Together with this elaborate apparatus for the physical necessities, comforts and enjoyments of life, Asoka gave to his Empire certain principles of administration which, in their breadth of vision and outlook, their spirit of humanity and internationalism, are an inspiration even to the modern world. He based his empire upon the Principle of Ahimsa or non-violence, universal Peace; Peace between Man and Man and between Man and every

sentient creature, so that it was an empire of righteousness, an empire resting on Right and not on Might, and thus too far ahead of the times to stand the ordained and ordinary historic process of a painful development from the brute to the man. He also gave to his subject people of different communities, castes and creeds, certain common and cardinal ideals of thought and conduct which make him to be the world's first teacher of Universal Morality and religion. These principles of policy and morality may be read to this day on the rocks and proclamation pillars on which they were inscribed in imperishable characters in the different provinces of his far-flung empire. These 'sermons in stone' are a sort of autobiography of the emperor, and the most important and fruitful sources of his remarkable history.

Kalinga war and new era in Asoka's life.

During the first thirteen years of his reign, Asoka seems to have carried on the traditional Maurya policy of expansion within India and of friendly co-operation with the foreign powers. Like Chandragupta and Bindusara he was aggressive at home but pacific abroad. The Divyadan credits him with the suppression of a revolt of Taxilla. In the twelfth year of his reign and the ninth of his coronation, i. e. 261 B. C. a war broke out as the result of which the Kalinga (the territory stretching along the coast between the deltas of the Mahanadi and the Krishna), which had hitherto been independent, were conquered and annexed. The horrors of this bloody struggle made a profound impression on the mind of the gracious king, who had waged it, so much so that from that time onward he set himself resolutely against all further thoughts of earthly conquests, and strove to promote the triumphs of righteousness (dharma) by becoming an ardent follower of the peace-loving

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religion of Buddha. During the war, according to his own statement, 150, 000 persons had been led into captivity, 100, 000 had been slain, and of the ordinary people many times that number had perished through want, violence and misery. "The loss of even the hundredth or the thousandth part of the persons who were then slain, carried away as captives or done to death in Kalinga would now", says the great Emperor in an edict published about B. C. 256, "be a matter of deep regret to his Majesty. Although a man may do him an injury, his Majesty holds that it must be patiently borne."

The conquest of Kalinga was a great landmark in the history of India. It marks the close of the career of conquest and aggrandisement in Asoka's reign. It opens a new era—an era of peace, of social progress and of religious propaganda. The era of Digvijay (conquest of the world) was over, and the era of Dharmavijay (conquest by Dharma) was about to begin.

ASOKA AND HIS IDEAL GOVERNMENT.

Burgess, the well-known authority on political science, advances the view that the ultimate end of the Government is the perfection of humanity, the civilization of the World and the establishment on Earth of the reign of virtue and morality. Locke in his treatise on political science observes that the end of Government is the good of mankind. Similarly Professor Ritchie in his "Principles of State interference" conceives the end of the Government to be simply the realization of the best life by the individual. Laboulaye, a noted French scholar says "The role of the Government is to assure to the individual his entire development—the full enjoyment of his physical, religious, intellectual and moral powers." When we review Maharaja Asoka's Government and his administrative machinery in the light

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of the above-mentioned high principles of Government, we find that Asoka's administration attained the highest level of perfection and idealism. Nobler sentiments of humanity were embodied in his machinery of Government. He emphasised the moral foundations of his authority, his responsibility to his people as the guardian of their well-being. He was fond of declaring that all man were his children, for whom as their father, he desired every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and the next (K. E. I.) and that his Governors were created for the welfare and happiness of the governed, who were committed to their care as a child is committed to a skillful nurse. (P. E. IV.). His sense of responsibility to his people made him work very hard as a public servant. In Rock Edict VI he comments on the lapses of his predecessors and makes a public declaration that he will be ready for public business at all hours and places, even while at meals or in his bed room or in his meditations. Even while thus working, he never "felt satisfied with his exertions and despatch of business" (ib). And the spirit which sustained him in his work was that thereby he was only "Obtaining his own release from the debt he owed to his fellow human-beings."

The most important administrative innovation of Asoka was his creation of a new Department for the spread of his Dharma as defined by him and his recognition of the principle that the first care of his state was the moral development of the people. The various Edicts adumbrate the growth of this idea in Asoka's mind. In the Kalinga Rock Edict II, he first expresses his feeling that all might not be well with his administration, and call upon the Officers to see that no man is put under imprisonment or torture without due cause. And for this purpose, in accordance with Dharma, to prevent all injustice, he declared his resolve that he shall send forth in rotation

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every five years such persons as are of mild, temperate disposition and regardful of the sanctity of life, who, knowing this purpose will comply with his instructions.

Now, what was the Dharma for which Asoka was at such pains in introducing and spreading both in his own dominions and beyond. It comprised certain fundamental principles of thought and life, about which there can be no two opinions and which are acceptable and applicable to all mankind. In one Edict (R. E. VV) they are stated to be mastery of the senses (Samyama), purity of thought (Bhava shuddhi), gratefulness (Kritagyata) and steadfastness of devotion (Dridhabhaktita); in another (P. E. II), " Little impiety, many good deeds, kindness (daya), charity (dana) truthfulness (satya) and purity in thought and deed (Sancha); and in a third edict (P E VII), Kindness, Charity, Truthfulness, Purity of thought together with 'moda' i.e. blissfulness, and 'Sadhuta' i.e. saintliness". But the Dharma was presented not merely in the form of doctrines but in a more concrete form, for it must be lived, and not merely be believed, and that by the people at large, the masses, to whose average level of moral life it must adjust itself. Thus the basis of the Dharma was laid in the purity of domestic life, involving proper relations with " father and mother, kinsmen, servants and slaves, comrades, friends and supporters, seniors in age, and the Guru "; the relations being analysed into those of service (Sushrusa), support (Sampratipatti) or of reverence. (apachiti) (R. E. III, IV and IX). " The love that is kindled at home expands itself over the race of men ". And so the next step in Asoka's religious scheme was to extend the circle of domestic affection so as to include Brahmans and ascetics, homeless devotees, to whom all honour and liberality must be shown by the house-holders, as also to lower animals depending on men.

In a word, we may say that Asoka introduced certain

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very high ideals in the sphere of politics. By his high moral purpose and earnestness, he moralised and spiritualised politics. The horrors of a single war convinced him that it was an absolute wrong and evil, which should have no place in the scheme of affairs. He forthwith gave effect to his conviction by declaring that "The best conquest is the conquest of right and not of might" (R. E. XIII). Thus his empire became the abode of universal love and peace. It inspired a new life to the whole world. India thus became a happy family of nations under an international system of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity for all, great or small. Sanctity of liberty of smaller states was completely preserved in the great empire of Maharaja Asoka. Instead of sending an army to subdue them to his authority by violence, Asoka sent his missionaries to subdue them by " a conquest full of delight " to the moral life he proposed for his own people. He sent the following message to the many unsubdued borderers of his Empire :—

" The king desires that they should not be afraid of him, but should trust him and should receive from him not sorrow but happiness. " (R. E. I).

Thus rang through the country, loud and clear, the message of freedom, of peace on Earth and goodwill among men. Asoka thus stands out easily as the first of the peace-makers of the world. His moral conquests were successful not only in his own dominions, but also in some of the principal countries of the West, as stated by the Emperor himself. In this way it can safely be said that Maharaja Asoka takes an honourable place in the gallery of the greatest kings known to history. It is not possible to discuss everything relating to Asoka but he was of course pre-eminently the greatest king in Ancient India. The political and religious grandeur of India commenced with him. It was indeed his conversion to Buddhism, which was the first and

main cause of the position that Buddhism occupies in the history of mankind.

ASOKA'S BENEVOLENT ACTIVITIES.

We have stated above that the horrors of Kalinga war made deep impressions on the great Asoka. From that time his compassion extended not merely to the human beings but to all the living creatures on earth. He abolished the sacrificial slaughter of animals and offensive 'Samajas' and the massacre of living creatures to make curries in the imperial kitchen. Rock Edict VIII refers to the abolition of the tours of pleasure in which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised. Pillar Edict V contains a code of regulations restricting slaughter and mutilation of animals.

MAHARAJA ASOKA AND PRACTICAL ACHIEVEMENTS.

It has been very often and widely assumed that while the ancient Hindus had a genius for abstract speculation, producing so many systems of philosophy and religion, they were notoriously deficient in all practical skill and capacities, so that the spiritual interests of life were disproportionately cultivated to the neglect of its material interests. This assumption, we regret to say, has a germ of truth, but it is not fully correct. The reign of Asoka is a refutation of this assumption. He gave ample evidences of his practical genius.

As we have referred above, the empire of Maharaja Asoka was more extensive than that of his grand-father Chandragupta. It was larger than British India. To devise a suitable form of Government of such a vast empire requires the highest administrative skill and statesmanship. A unitary centralized administration could not be expected to control an empire larger than British India in those pre-mechanical

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ages of primitive transport Thus the empire was split up into a number of provincial administrations and vice-royalties modelled on a common plan. The head of the Government was, of course, the sovereign whose authority was in theory, or in the legal sense, unlimited. But in practice it was limited in many ways under the established usages and customs of the Hindu State. The Hindu king could not be an absolute despot like the Czar, the Sultan or the Indian Princes of the Medieval days. He was not the source and fountain of all law in the country. Learned men of high moral character were the legislators of the day. The king was regarded to administer the laws enacted by such saintly and learned personalities who had no selfish interest in the worldly affairs. The ideal Hindu king was never an autocrat. Manu, the recognised authority on Hindu laws, repeats over and over again that the king shall not live for himself, shall not permit himself to love flavour of power, shall hold the sceptre of justice and might as a trust, to be wielded only for the good of others, with purity of mind and body, and in awe and reverence of the Great King from whom it is derived. Kalidas in *Raghuvansh* observes:—

“By his fostering care, nurture and protection of them, and by the providing of education and livelihood, the king is the real father of his subjects. The king of the kings created the king to be the protector of the people ”

Again the famous Lawgiver Manu, says. “The king must bow his head before the wisdom and the saintliness of the poor Brahmin and must also hold his very life as subservient to the protection of the meanest of his subjects from all wrong-doers.” Dr. Bhagwandas of Benares, the great philosopher of the modern days observes “The ideal Hindu king was not an autocrat at all, but only the executive arm of the wisdom—stored head of the community, educationist, scientist, philosopher and legislator” It is

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needless to say that Maharaja Asoka's Government was wholly inspired by the lofty teachings and higher ideals of that personality—Lord Buddha—who has been regarded as the greatest Spiritual teacher in the columns of the history of mankind.

Maharaja Asoka's conception of his duties was a high one and he expected a correspondingly lofty standard on the part of his officers. As a true father of the people, he was ready at any hour of the day or night to receive petitions or to hear complaints.

MAHARAJA ASOKA & DEVELOPMENT OF ART.

According to various traditions Maharaja Asoka is credited with the construction of as many as 84,000 Stupas of which Yuan Chwang came to know of 80, and only two have been uptill now unearthed, those of Sanchi and Bharhut. The Nigliva Pillar inscription informs us that Asoka had twice enlarged the stupa of Buddha.

Commodious chambers with interiors shining like mirrors were also excavated in the most refractory rock, the hard gneiss of the Barabar Hills, as the emperor's gifts to the sect of the Ajivikas.

Asoka was also the builder of cities and palaces. He is said to have founded Shrinagar, the capital of Kashmir, where he built 500 monasteries, of which 100 were seen by Yuan Chwang. In Nepal he built the city of Deopatan, called after his son-in-law Devapala, who with his daughter Charumati chose to settle there. At the capital of the Mauryan Empire, Patliputra, Asoka made many improvements in replacing the old wooden material of the palace by stone, and by executing elegant carving and inlaid sculpture work "Which no human hand of this world could accomplish" as observed by Fa-hien.

Asoka also brought to a completion the magnificent

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irrigation work commenced by Chandragupta Maurya. It was a reservoir or lake, called Sudarsana, constructed on Mount Urjayat by artificially damming up the flow of several streams of that mount, the Suvarnasikata, Palasini and others, as described in a later inscription (of Rudra-daman 150 A. D.).

ASOKA & MISSION OF BUDDHISM.

We have referred in the previous chapter that Maharaja Asoka took the sacred duty of propagating the sacred teachings of Lord Buddha to the whole world. For this he organised a net work of missions to preach the gospels in countries far off and near. His missionaries visited not only the different parts of India and Ceylon but also Western Asia, Egypt and Western Europe. Of the foreign Kings, whose dominions thus received the message of the Lord of Kapilvastu, five are mentioned in the inscriptions of Asoka.

The names of the missionaries, whose sphere of work lay in India proper, are preserved in the Ceylonese literature. The relic caskets, unearthed about fifty years ago at Bhilsa bear the names of some of them and vividly bring home to us the wonderful missionary activity of Asoka. The great emperor sent even his own children, his son Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitra, to preach the religion in Ceylon.

But, by for the most novel means adopted by the emperor to make the people realise the blessed doctrines of the Buddha, was to engrave them on rocks, pillars and caves, throughout his vast dominions. Many of them have been lost, but we still possess about thirty-three separate records, which, in some respects, are the most wonderful that antiquity has bequeathed to us. They contain a glowing personal narrative of the emperor, and give a detailed account

of what he believed to be Dharma, and of what he did to bring it home to the millions of his subjects. The emperor was urged on by an anxious desire to uplift the morality of the people, by bringing home to them essential features of his Dharma. So he engraved these on imperishable stones, which even today, after the lapse of more than two thousand years, stand as undying monuments to his sense of purity of life, and sublimity of thoughts. The aspect of 'Dharma' which he emphasised was a code of morality, rather than a system of religion. He never discussed metaphysical doctrines nor referred to God or soul, but simply asked the people to have control over their passions, to cultivate purity of life and character in inmost thoughts, to be tolerant to others' religion, to abstain from killing or injuring animals and to have regard for them, to be charitable to all, to behave with decorum to parents, teachers, relatives, friends and ascetics, to treat slaves and servants kindly, and above all, to tell the truth.

The emperor not only preached these truths but also practised them. He foreswore hunting and gave up meat diet. He established hospitals for men and beasts, not only throughout his vast empire, but also in the dominions of his neighbouring kings. He made liberal donations to the Brahmans and followers of other religions. We read in his records, how, on the roads, he had rest-houses erected, and also caused wells to be dug, and trees to be planted, for the use of the men and beasts. He also issued various regulations to prevent the slaughter of animals.

The grand personality of Asoka, and the steadfastness of his purpose, backed by the resources of a mighty empire, that stretched from the borders of Persia to Assam, and from the source of the Ganges to that of the Kavery, gave an unheard of impetus to the religion he patronised. Men were thirsting for the knowledge that would relieve them

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from the woes and miseries of the world. That knowledge was vouch-safed to the noble-son of the Sakyas, and the torch that would pierce the gloom of misery and ignorance was lighted at Gaya under the Holy Tree. Then appeared the torch-bearer, more than two hundred years later, who led the holy-light from village to village, from city to city, from province to province, from country to country, and from continent to continent. Three continents now drank the nectar of bliss, thanks to the superhuman energy and undying zeal of the Maurya Emperor and the time was not far distant, when the name of Buddha would be daily uttered in nearly one-third of the house-holds of the entire world. It is not every age, it is not every nation, that can produce a king of this type, and emperor Asoka still remains without a parrallel in the history of the world.

MAHARAJA ASOKA AND SPIRIT OF TOLERATION

Toleration in fact, was the characteristic and basis of the religious ideal of the great Emperor. In Rock Edict XII the emperor declares that "He does reverence to men of all sects, whether ascetics or house-holders, by gifts and various forms of reverence". That he was sincere in his professions is proved by the Barabar cave dedications in favour of the Ajivika ascetics, who were more akin to the Jains than to the Buddhists. The emperor only cared for the "Growth of the essence (Sara) of the matter in sects." He says that "He who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own, with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his own sect." In a word concord is praised by him as meritorious.

Just as Asoka tried to secure concord among the

various sects, so he wanted to prevent schism within the Buddhist church. Tradition affirms that a Buddhist council was convened at Patliputra during his reign for the purpose of suppressing heresy. The Sarnath Edict and its variants may be regarded as embodying the resolution of this council (Smith's Asoka, third Edition, page 55).

ASOKA & SANCTITY OF ANIMAL LIFE.

As we have already mentioned in a previous chapter that one of the cardinal doctrines of the great Buddhist Emperor was, the respect for living creatures, i. e. sanctity of animal life. We note in the Edicts, the successive stages of his growing enthusiasm for stopping of slaughter in the royal kitchen developed into prohibition; and gradually this puritanism gained more and more in strength, till after twentysix years he laid down an elaborate code practically prohibiting the slaughter of animals (even chaff was not to be burnt), a regulation in which there was no restriction of creed or custom.

Evidently Asoka had this sanctity of animal life in view, when he made healing arrangements for men as well as for beasts. For the same object also, wells were dug on the roads, and trees were planted for the enjoyment of both men and beasts. Dr Vincent Smith in this connection observes that 'the sanctity attaching to the life of the most insignificant insect was not extended to the life of man.' But this view of the historian regarding the Great king is certainly narrow. The Second Rock Edict recounts the action of the monarch, conducive to the welfare of men as well as of beasts, such as the digging of wells, the planting of trees, banyan and mango, the erection of rest-houses and watering places, the provision of medicines for men as well as for the lower animals. This conclusively shows that the king cared as much for animal life as for men, though it was animal life which he

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sought to save by promulgating the first Edict. The explanation is obvious. No importance had been attached to animal life. On the contrary, as we find clearly mentioned in the fourth Rock Edict, appreciatively characterised as the Testament of Asoka, "For a long period past, even for many hundreds of years, the sacrificial slaughter of living creatures, the Killing of animate beings," had gone on increasing, and it was therefore only in the fitness of things that the great Buddhist king who wanted to inculcate Ahimsa, should devote more attention to animal life which had been neglected previously. But that does not, as we have just observed, imply in any way that sanctity was not extended to the life of man—God's highest and noblest creation.

D E A T H O F A S O K A .

This Great Emperor died in 232 B. C. after the glorious reign of about 40 years. A Tibetan tradition is said to affirm that the Great Emperor breathed his last at Taxilla (the Oxford History of India. 116-120).

T H E L A T E R M A U R Y A S .

As we have referred above, the Magadha Empire of Asoka extended from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil Country. But after his death dark clouds were looming in the North Western horizon. At this time, India needed a man of the calibre of Puru and Chandragupta to ensure her protection against the Yavan menace. Though Maharaja Asoka was a ruler who glorified the columns of the history of mankind by his spiritual messages and lofty ideals, yet he could not make the foundation of India politically strong. Magadha after the Kalinga war frittered away her conquering energy in attempting a religious revolution. The result, was politically disastrous,

though it was very glorious from the religious and moral points of view. Human nature after all is human nature, and Asoka's attempt to end war completely, met with the same fate as a similar endeavour of President Wilson.

Maharaja Asoka was succeeded, according to Vayupurana, by his son 'Kunal' who reigned for 6 years. Kunal's son and successor was Bandhupalita, and Bandhupalita's heir was Indrapalita. After Indrapalita came Deva-varman, Satadhanu and Brihadratha. The Matsya Purana gives the following list of Asoka's successors:-Dasaratha, Samprati, Satadhanvan and Brihadratha. The Vishnu Purana furnishes the following names:- Suyass, Dasaratha Sangata, Salisuka, Somasarman, Satadhanvan and Brihadrath. The Divyavadana (page 433) has the following names:- Samprati, Vrihaspati, Vrishasena, Pushyadharman and Pushyamitra. The Rajatrangini mentions Jalanka as the successor of Asoka in Kashmere.

It is not an easy task to reconcile the divergent versions of the different authorities. The reality of the existence of 'Kunala' is established by the combined testimony of the Puranik and Buddhistic works. Tradition is not unanimous regarding the accession of Kunala to the imperial throne. He is reputed to have been blind and so he was physically unfit to carry on the work of Government which was presumably entrusted to his favourite Samprati, who is described by the Jain and Buddhistic writers as the immediate successor of Asoka.

MAHARAJA SAMPRATI & UJJAIN.

According to Jain scriptures, Ujjain was the capital of Maharaja Samprati, the successor of Maharaja Asoka. Buddhistic and Jain scriptures speak very highly of the religious and moral tendencies of this king. Jinaprabhasuri, the reputed Jain author of ancient times, describes the prowess

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and splendour of Maharaja Samprati in glowing terms. His Majesty is reputed to have built many Jain temples in Malwa, Gujerat, Rajputana and Kathiawar. According to Tirthkalpa, Samprati constructed some Jain temples in non-Aryan countries. Traditions assign him the credit of building several temples in Shatrunjaya, the holy place of the Jains. It is said that the fort of Jahajpur in Udaipur State was also built by him. According to Divyadan, the famous Buddhistic scripture, Maharaja Samprati was succeeded by his son Brahspati. He was also recognised by the name of Shalishuk, which has been mentioned in Vishnupurana and in several places in Gargeya Sanhita. Nothing worth mentioning happened in his reign. Brihadratha was the last scion of the Maurya dynasty. He was treacherously assassinated by his minister Pushymitra Sunga. Thus ended the mighty empire of the Mauryas.

Even after the ruin of their glorious Empire, several petty kings of this dynasty ruled over the Western portions of India. An inscription of 8th century discovered at Kanaswa in Kotah State, mentions the name of king Dhawal of this dynasty. Inscriptions found in Konkana also bear the names of some Maurya kings.

According to Huen Tsang, the famous Chinese traveller, Poornalerna, a king of Maurya Dynasty was ruling somewhere in Magadha. According to Kumarpal Prabandh (32) the famous fort of Chittor was built by the Maurya king named Chitranga. He is also credited to have constructed a large tank called after him as Chitranga, in this fort. This fact is also corroborated by the inscription of the time of Maharaja Samarsingh of Udaipur.

Col. Tod found out near Mansarovar an inscription of the Mauraya king Man, dating 770 Vikram Samwat, which mentioned the names of Maheshwar Bhim, Bhoj and Man. Rai Bahadur Pt. Gorishankerji Ozha is of opinion

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that the king Bappa Rawal, the founder of the illustrious Royal House of Udaipur, snatched away Chittor from the Maurya king 'Man'.

T H E M A L A V A S

We know from epigraphic record that the Malavas were the tribe with oligarchic form of Government. The present province of Malwa was doubtless named after them, when they were settled there.

According to the Greek writers, they occupied the valley of the Hydraotes (Ravi), on both banks of the river. Their name represents the Sanskrit Malava. Weber informs us that Apisali, one of the teachers cited by Panini, speaks of the formation of the compound -- "Kshaudraka Malava" क्षौद्रकाः मालवाः. Dr. Smith points out that the Mahabharata coupled the tribes in question as forming part of the Kaurava host in the Kurukshetra War (E. H. I. 1914, p. 942; Mbt. VI, 59, 135). Curtius tells us (Invasion of Alexander P. 234) that the Sudraca and the Malli had an army consisting of 90,000 foot soldiers, 10,000 cavalry, and 900 war chariots.

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Panini refers to the Malavas as living by the profession of arms (Ind. Ant., 1913, P. 200). In later times, the Malavas are found in Rajputana, Avanti and the Mahi valley.

In Bhagwati Sutra, the celebrated Jain scripture, Malwa country was regarded as one of the 16 kingdoms of the day. Varahmihir, the well-known Hindu astronomer, in his Vrihat Samhita has mentioned the country called Malwa. In Matsya Purana (III & XXX) references are made of Malwa tribe. In the Sabha Parva of Mahabharata, the Malavas, the Sibies, the Trigartas, are placed in Rajputana (Maru) while in another place (Chap. III) they are in the Punjab.

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According to the Macedonian writers the Kshudrakas and Malavas were the most powerful tribes. Their territories and populations were large. Their states comprised of several cities. They were very rich. They were large sovereign states, with noted wealth, prosperity and civil organisations. It is said that these free communities were the most famous for their military skill. The Greek writers further describe one constitution, the law of which made the citizens devote only limited attention to military matters, implying thereby that others did the opposite. Upajiv thus has a reference to their conventions and practices. The Ayudhajivins of Panini are to be taken as denoting those republics, which considered military art as the vital principle of their constitution. That was the chief feature of their constitution in the eyes of their contemporaries, as the chief feature in the other class of republics was the law which allowed the elected president (or every member of a ruling council) to be called Raja or king. (Dr. Jayaswal's Hindu Polity.)

'ALEXANDER & MALAVAS.'

Alexander, during his retreat, came across a number of republics. According to the Greek writers, the most powerful amongst them, were Kshudrakas and Malavas. They are spelt by the Greeks as 'Oxydrakar' and 'Malloi' respectively. These two states formed one league. Arrian (VI, 4) says that they were the most numerous and war-like of the Indian 'nations' in those parts. "Alexander first reached the nation called the 'Malloi.'" Near the Malloi there were their republican friends, called the 'Siboi'. The Malloi were called a race of independent Indians "Arrian VI, 6"; their cities were along the Chenab and their capital was near the Ravi in Punjab. It was in the seat of the capital or one of the cities of the Malloi that Alexan-

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der nearly lost his life in the battle fought between Malavas and himself. The strength of the Malava-army, as given by Curtius, was 1,00,000. "The Mecedonians lost their heart at the prospect of meeting this army." When the "Macedonians found that they had still on hand a fresh war, in which the most warlike nations in all India would be their antagonists, they were struck with an unexpected terror, and began again to upbraid the king in the language of sedition" (Curtius, Bk, IX, Ch. IX. Mc'crindle I, by Alexander P. 234). These Indians were regarded by the soldiers as "fierce nations", who would not let them proceed without drawing their blood. The fear of the Macedonians was well justified and is attested by the account of the personal calamity of Alexander and the lamentations which followed (II A. P. 241-2).

The Greek writers with their palpable desire to magnify the glory of Alexander would make us believe that the Kshudrakas and the Malavas were crushed and annihilated by Alexander. But Patanjali discloses a different story. The former mentions the league as living, and one of them, the Kshudrakas, being victorious. (एकाभिः क्षुद्रकैर्जितम्,) (Patanjali on P. V. 3, 52, Keilhorn, II P. 412). The Mecedonian writers themselves describe and admit their existing importance after the war. The two 'nations' sent 'hundred ambassadors' who "all rode in chariots and were men of uncommon stature and of a very dignified bearing. Their robes were of linen embroidered with gold and purple." "The gods, they said, were the author of their submission and not fear." They were proud of their "*liberty which for so many ages they had preserved inviolate.*" Alexander who was very vindictive against all those who had opposed him, in spite of the personal suffering to which he had been subjected by these opponents, "*treated the ambassadors with uncommon hospitality*" He gave orders for the preparation of a

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splendid banquet to which he invited the ambassadors. "Here a hundred coaches of gold had been placed at a small distance of each other, and these were hung round with tapestry curtains which glittered with gold and purple" (Curtius Bk IX, Ch. 7). Alexander entertained them with shows at which wine flowed. And the "ambassadors were dismissed to their several homes." (Ch. 8). All this does not read like the description of a crushed enemy, but rather of one whose subordinate alliance was welcomed by Alexander after he had tested their valour. Alexander had not only to secure his rear in his retreat but had also to pacify and render confident the 'seditious' Macedonians.

It is important to note that these republics sent their ambasssadors to conclude peace with Alexander. These were the leading men representing their cities and provinces. They were entrusted with full powers to conclude a treaty. (Arrian Bk. VI, Cha. 14, Mc'crindle Alexander P. 154.). The representatives of the Malloi (Malavas) are reported to have said that "They were attached more than others to freedom and autonomy and their freedom had been preserved in tact from the time of 'Dionysios'" (Arrian Book).

MIGRATION of MALAVAS.

The migration of Malavas from the fertile lands of the Punjab to Malwa and Rajputana is the testimony to the love of liberty which these republicans bore more than others, as one of them put it in the time of Alexander, (Mc'crindle Alexander P. 154). They considered it better to sacrifice their paternal homes and lands to preserve their political Self and Soul. They will go to deserts but live democratic glory and ruling Parliament. It is a settled principle of Hindu Politics that freedom is more important than home and is to be preserved at the cost of the latter. The

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republics seem to have fully acted upon this principle (Jayaswal's Hindu Polity P. 155.)

MALAVAS IN RAJPUTANA AND MALWA.

We have mentioned above that in order to preserve the sacred principle of liberty, Malavas left their homes in the Punjab and migrated to Rajputana and Malwa. According to Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, the renowned antiquarian, the Malavas were in their new homes about 150—100 B. C. This fact has also been corroborated by the earliest type of their coins found in Karkotnagar (Jaipur State). These coins bear legends in Brahmi script मालवानां जय (victory of the Malavas) or मालव जय (the Malava victory) मालव गणस्य (of the Malava-gana). These Malavas seem to have migrated via Bhatinda (Patiala State), where they have left traces of their name (in Malawi dialect extending from Firozpur to Bhatinda). In 58 B. C. they seem to have achieved a great victory somewhere in Malwa and in order to make it a memorable event they introduced a new era which was known before 8th century as Malava Samvat and afterwards as Vikram Samvat. But this fact of victory is in obscurity uptil now and we hope future historians will throw sufficient light upon this historical mystery.

MALAVA ERA.

We have tried to throw some light on the heroic deeds and movements of Malavas. Now it is necessary to discuss the historical aspects of Malava Era in the light of recent researches. Almost all scholars of Indian history are unanimous in their opinion that Malava and Vikram Era are one and the same. According to Rai Bahadur Pt. Gaurishankarji Ozha, before 841 A. D., Vikram Era was known as Malava Era. The earliest inscription which bears the first trace of the name of Vikram Era—is of a Chauhan king

Chanda-Mahasen, found at Dholpur. This inscription is of the year 898 Vikram Samvat. Similarly an inscription of the time of king Narvarman has been found out in Mandsore, which bears the allusion of Malava Era as under:-

(श्री म्मालव गणम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृत संज्ञिते । एक पद्य-
धिके प्राप्ते समाशत चतुष्टये प्रावृफ्फा [ट्का] ले शुभे प्राप्ते ।

Rai Bahadur Pt. Gaurishankerji Ozha, the antiquarian of established reputation, has found out an inscription of the year 461 Malava Samvat in Nagar (Udaipur State) which bears the following lines :—

“कृतेषु चतुर्षु वर्षे शतेष्वे काशी ल्युत्तरे ष्वस्यां मालव-
पूर्वायां [४००] ८०१ कार्तिक शुक्ल पञ्चम्याम् ।”

This inscription is still preserved in the Government museum at Ajmere.

Similar inscriptions have been discovered in Mandsore and Kanaswa village (Kotah State) which are dated according to Malava Era, the first of which is of the time of Maharaja Kumargupta and the other of the 8th century.

From the above inscriptions it clearly transpires that before 8th century, the Vikram Era was known by the name of Malava Era.

MAHARAJA VIKRAMADITYA .

There is not a single man in India, we trust, who has not ever heard the celebrated name of Maharaja Vikramaditya. His name is a house-hold word in India. People still cherish his sacred memory. Indian legends are full of the glowing descriptions of this great and venerable personality. In spite of these facts the reliable history of this great and noble king is still sinking in the sea of oblivion. It is a sorry fact that modern historical researches do not throw sufficient light on the life time,

dynasty and achievements of this most renowned king. Different authorities on ancient Indian History hold different views on this point. Some take him to be a Parmar king, while others are of opinion that he was a king of the Malava dynasty. There are others who take him for Chandragupta I of Gupta dynasty.

A few days back 'गाथा सप्त शति' a work by Hall, an ancient writer, has been discovered. According to Rai Bahadur Pundit Gaurishankerji Ojha, the famous Archaeologist, Hall belongs to the 2nd century A. D (प्राचीन लिपि माला, १६८). 'गाथा सप्त शति' contains a brief description of Maharaja Vikramaditya, and thus it is evident that Maharaja Vikramaditya must have been born somewhere before the 2nd century A. D.

The Sanskrit poet Gunadhya, who flourished in the time of Raja Satvahan compiled a work in Paishachi Language (which used to be spoken in Kashmere), speaks of Maharaja Vikramaditya in several places. This work has not been found in original uptil now, but it has been mentioned by Ban in his Harsha Charita and translated in Sanskrit by Somdeo in his Katha Sarit-sagar. According to the late lamented Sir Ram Krishna Gopal Bhandarker, king Satvahan reigned in the first or 2nd century.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Durga Prasadji and Pt. Pandurang Parva, the learned compilers of Kavya Mala, are of opinion that 'Gatha Sapta Shati' was compiled somewhere in 1st century. They have adduced evidences to prove their conclusions. This shows that Maharaja Vikramaditya flourished before the 1st century A. D. We regret in the absence of sufficient historical material, we are not in a position to throw light on the dynasty of Maharaja Vikramaditya. But from circumstantial evidences we are led to believe that Maharaja Vikramaditya must have been of Malava dynasty.

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COINS OF MALAVAS.

Carlyal has found out some 6000 copper coins of Malavas in Karkota-nagar (Jaipur State). These coins are of various kinds in size and weight. Some of them bear the legend "मालवानां जय" etc: etc:, while others contain the names of 20 various kings, as follows:—

1. भपंयन	Bhapamyana.
2. यम वा मय	Yama or Maya.
3. मजुप	Majupa.
4. मपोजय	Mapojaya.
5. मपय	Mapaya.
6. मगजश	Magajasa.
7. मगज	Magaja.
8. मगोजव	Magojava.
9. गोजर	Gojar.
10. माशप	Mashapa.
11. मपक	Mapaka.
12. यम	Yama.
13. पछ	Pachha.
14. मगछ	Magachha.
15. गजव	Gajava.
16. जामक	Jamak.
17. जमपय	Jampaya.
18. मय	Maya.
19. महाराय	Maharaya.
20. मरज	Maraja.

We are unable to give any account of these kings as no historical information is available in this connection.

MALWA WITHIN SUNGA EMPIRE.

On the death of Asoka, his Empire rapidly broke up, and Brihadratha the last scion of the Maurya dynasty was treacherously assassinated by his commander-in-chief Pushyamitra Sunga, who established himself upon the throne

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of his master and set up the Sunga dynasty. The Divyadan tells us that the Emperor continued to reside in Pataliputra. According to Hindu Purana, the major portion of Malwa fell to the Sungas. Agnimitra, the hero of the play, 'Malvikagnimitra' was Viceroy of Malwa with his headquarters at Vidisha (now Bhilsa in Gawalior State). On one of the gates of the Stupa at Bharhut is an inscription stating that it was erected in the time of the Sungas. Pushyamitra ruled over Malwa for 36 years from about 185 to 149 B. C. During his reign the Mantri Parishad (assembly of councillors) continued to be an important element of the Governmental machinery.

The Viceregal Princes were also assisted by Parishads. The historical events worth mentioning during Pushyamitra's reign were the Vidarbha war and the Greek invasion. The former resulted in the splitting up of the kingdom of Vidarbha into two states between which the river 'Barada' formed the boundary. The latter is referred to in Patanjali's Mahabhashya and Kalidas's Malavikagnimitra.

Pushyamitra celebrated an Ashvamedha sacrifice. The Sanskrit drama Malavikagnimitra informs us that his valiant grandson Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra, the ruler of Vidisha (Bhilsa) guarded the horse and rescued it from the Yavans or Greeks. According to Purans, Pushysmitra died in or about the year 149 B. C. after a reign of 36 years. He was followed by nine kings who ruled for 76 years. The Sunga dynasty probably lasted for 112 years. The last of the Sunga monarchs was Deobhuti who was a dissolute prince. The puranas say that he was overthrown by his minister Vasudeo kanva. Rapson says that the Sungas were a military power but in later times they became puppets in the hands of their Brahman councillors. They probably ruled .

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as feudatories at Vidisa (in Malwa). The Sunga dynasty probably came to an end about 73 B. C. and was succeeded by the Kanva Dynasty. Under the Sunga rule a revival of Brahminism took place and Buddhism began to lose its paramount position it had acquired under Asoka.

RISE OF ANDHRAS.

After the downfall of Kanvas, Malwa passed into the hands of Andhras. The Andhras were very old tribe and are referred to in the Aitraya Brahmana, which shows that they lived on the Aryan settlements and had a mixture of Aryan and non-Aryan blood in them. This notice may be dated about 800 B. C. Five hundred years latter we hear of them as a very powerful people. They possessed numerous villages and thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and an army of 1,00,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. According to Dr. Smith, in the time of Maharaja Chandragupta Maurya, the Andhras were a great kingdom, second in power only to Magadha. (Smith's early History of Ancient India P. 206). But not long after this, they had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mauryas, although they seem to have preserved a great measure of autonomy in their internal administration. But their power had been broken in the reign of Bindusar. Now again they rose to power and after destroying the Kanva kingdom, became the masters of a large portion of India.

ANDHRAS & MALWA.

It is an undeniable historical fact that Andhras were intimately connected with the province of Malwa. Satyakarni, son of Simuka, whose name has already been mentioned above, was the sovereign of the whole of Dakshinapatha. He conquered Eastern Malwa and performed the Ashwamedha sacrifice. The conquest of Eastern Malwa is also proved by the Sanchi inscriptions.

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Andhras rose to power and after destroying the Kanva kingdom, became the masters of a large portion of India. King Simuka who achieved this task, belonged to the Satavahan family of this Andhra dynasty. The word Satavahan, in its corrupt form Shalivahan, is almost a household word all over India. Shalivahan was the name of the royal family founded by Simuka. But, it seems that the popular fancy has made a strange step of taking it for the name of an individual king.

Satkarni seems to have been the first prince to raise the Satavahanas to the position of paramount sovereigns of Trans-Vindhyan India. Thus arose the first great Empire in the Godavari valley, which rivalled in extent and power the Sunga Empire in the Ganges valley and the Greek Empire in the land of the five rivers. More than hundred years passed in peace and prosperity, when this Empire had to feel the terrible shock of the foreign invasions that convulsed North-Western India. The Andhra Emperors had to engage themselves in the fight with the Greeks, the Sakas, and the Parthians, but the details of the struggles are unknown. Towards the end of the 1st century A. D., the Saka chiefs, called the Western Satrapas of Malwa and Kathiawar, dispossessed the Andhras of their dominions in Malwa, conquered the North-Western portion of the Deccan, and occupied the important city of Nasik.

It was a critical moment not only for the Andhra kingdom but also for the whole southern India. Fortunately a great hero arose in the Satavahana family in the person of Gautami-putra Satakarni. He ascended the throne about 106 A. D. and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the sub-chiefs of Malwa and Kathiawar peninsula. Thereby he not only recovered his paternal dominions in the Deccan but also conquered large territories in Gujarat and Rajputana. He died after a glorious reign of 25 years and was succeeded by

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his son Pulumayi. About that time the two Saka principalities of Malwa and Kathiawar peninsula were united under a valiant chief called Rudradaman and there ensued a large and protracted struggle between the two rulers. Rudradaman seems to have been successful in pushing back the Andhras to the Deccan proper. He enjoyed, his vast Kingdom extending over Malwa, Gujarat and Rajputana. A matrimonial alliance was established between the rival dynasties by the marriage of Pulumayi with the daughter of Rudradaman, but intermittent struggles continued, till the Satawahana dynasty was blotted out of existence altogether about 225 A. D. This dynasty comprised of about thirty kings, who ruled for over 450 years, an unusually long period in Indian history

KSHATRAPAS IN MALWA.

Readers of Indian history are well aware that in the 2nd century before the Christian era, the Sakas, a powerful central Asian tribe, appeared in the Punjab and gradually extended their conquests southwards. One section of this horde entered Malwa and founded a line of Saka princes, who are known as the Western Kshatrapas or Satrapas. Early in the Christian era, the Western Satrapas extended their rule in Malwa. They soon became possessed of considerable independence, and except for a temporary check (A. D. 126) at the hands of the Andhra king Gautami-putra, ruled till about 390 A.D.

According to Dr. Hemchandra Rai Chowdhary, the Saka Prince of Ujjain was Yasamotika, who was the father of Chastana, the first Maha Kshatrapa of the family (History of India P. 266). Dubruil in his "History of Deccan" observes that Chastana, who ascended the throne in A. D. 78, was the founder of the Saka era. But this seems to be improbable in view of the fact that his capital was Ujjain,

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whereas we learn that Ujjain was not a capital in the seventies of the 1st century A. D. From the Andhra inscription also we learn that Chastana was ruling conjointly with his grandson in the year 130 A. D. Several coins of the time of this king are available, which bear his foreign title Kshatrapa in Kharoshthi alphabets and clearly indicate that he was a viceroy of some northern power, probably the Kushans. He regained a major portion of the country lost by Nahpan. His son Jayadaman predeceased him and as such, after his death, his grandson Rudradaman succeeded to the throne as Mahakshatrapa. He was a great hero and expert in the use of arms. He became an independent Mahakshatrapa sometime between the years 52 and 72 of the Saka era (i. e. 130 & 150 A.D.). The Junagarh Rock Inscription of the year 72 clearly shows that he won for himself the title of Mahakshatrapa, declared his independence and was chosen by men of all castes as their protector. From another inscription on the Rock near Girnar, it seems that his rule extended over East and West Malwa, Mahishmati and many other provinces of India. It is also evident from these inscriptions that Rudradaman twice defeated Satakarni, lord of the Deccan but did not destroy him on account of their relationship. Similarly he did not destroy the other rulers whom he overcame. He also conquered the Yaudheyas, the chiefs of the heroic clan of the Kshatriyas, who are known to have occupied the Bijaygarh reign in the Bharatpur State.

Ujjain was apparently the capital of Rudradaman's dominions. He placed the districts of Anarta and Saurashtra under his able minister Pallava Amatya, who constructed a new dam on the Sudarshana Lake.

Rudradaman is said to have been well-versed in Grammar (Shabda), Polity (Artha), Music (Gandharva), logic (Nyaya) etc: etc:. The fact that he took and kept to

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the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle, testifies the highly civilized character of his rule. It was in the time of this great Kshatrapa, that the Sudarshana embankment was built and the lake reconstructed by "expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and of the province by exacting taxes, forced labour, benevolences and the like." (Bomb: Gaze: 1-1, 3, 9). He was in possession of an overflowing treasury and rich jewellery. He is credited to have won and married several princess in different 'Swayambars'.

In the work of administration this great king was helped by an able staff of officials, who were fully endowed with the qualifications of Ministers and were divided into two classes, viz. *Mati Sachiva* (councillors), and *Karmasachiva* (Executive officers). During the rule of this great Kshatrapa, Malwa was very prosperous.

After Rudradaman, his eldest son Damaghsada I ascended the throne. Nothing worth mentioning seems to have happened in his rule. He had two sons Satyadaman and Jivadaman of whom the first predeceased his father. But still after Damaghsada there were, according to Rapson, two claimants for the succession, one his son Jivadaman and the other his brother Rudra Sinha I. It seems that the struggle for succession ended in favour of the latter. Dr. Hemchandra Rai Chaudhary is of opinion that the Gauda inscription of the year 103 (A. D. 181), which records the digging of a tank by an Abhira general named Rudrabhuti, son of general Bapaka, belongs to Rudrasingh's reign. But according to Prof. Bhandarker, an Abhira named Ishwardatta was the Mahakshtrapa of the period of 188-90 A. D.

Rudra Singh I was followed by his sons Rudrasena I, Sanghadaman and Damasena. After Damasena three of his sons became Mahakashatrapas. Their names were

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Yasodaman, Vijayasena and Damajada Sri. This last prince was succeeded by his nephew Rudrasena II, who was followed by his sons Vishwasinha and Bhartridaman. It is stated that under Bhartridaman his son Visvasen served as Kshatrapa. After Bhartridaman and Visvasena, the geneology of these Kshatrapas is not known. It seems that Rudradaman II of this family also flourished as Mahakshatrapa but again the name of his successors cannot be ascertained. The last known member of this time was Rudrasinha III who ruled up to at least 388.

The rule of these Sakas was destroyed by the Guptas as described in the later chapter.

MALWA IN GUPTA EMPIRE.

At the beginning of the fourth century A. D., the Magadhan monarchy again rose into prominence under the great Guptas. It seems that SriGupta a chief of this dynasty ruled over a petty kingdom in Magadha. He was succeeded by his son Ghatotkacha. Neither the father nor the son seem to have possessed any considerable power. But Chandra Gupta, son of Ghatotkacha was the first notable figure of this dynasty. He ascended the throne in 320 A.D., the initial date of the Gupta Era. Chandra Gupta was also styled Maharajadhiraj in striking contrast to the title of Maharaja of his two predecessors. These facts indicate that he raised the small principality to the status of an important kingdom by extending its boundaries in all directions. The means by which he accomplished this are not definitely known. He married a princess of the Lichavis family named Kumar devi, and had her portrait engraved on his coins together with his own. His son and successor, the great emperor Samudragupta took pride on his descent, on the mother's side, from the Licchavis. These facts give rise to a natural presumption that the

matrimonial connection with the Licchavis materially contributed to the political greatness of the Guptas. But this is however, a mere conjecture for which definite proof is yet lacking.

Chandra Gupta conquered before his death (A.D. 326) the districts now called Bihar, Trihut and Oudh. No mention has been made in any inscription about his conquest of Malwa. It seems that Malwa came under Gupta Empire in the time of his son Samudragupta.

SAMUDRAGUPTA.

Chandra Gupta was succeeded on the throne by his son Samudragupta, who was one of the greatest military genius that India ever produced. Some historians regard him as the Napoleon of India. His whole reign was a vast military campaign. He was an embodiment of the political principles preached by Kautilya.

We now possess a fairly long description of this great king's remarkable achievements and virtues in a poetical Sanscrit inscription engraved by his command upon one of Asoka's edict pillars. It describes in glowing terms the great victories achieved by this ambitious Gupta Emperor on several provinces of India. He subdued almost all the reigning monarchs of the day and made them his vassals. He achieved his great political ideal to bring about the political unification of India and make himself the emperor of the united India. His dominions extended from the Brahmaputra on the East to Jamna and Chambal on the west and from the foot of the Himalaya's on the north to the Narbada on the south. Beyond these wide limits, the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gangetic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himalayas and the free tribes of Rajputana and Malwa, were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance; while almost all the kingdoms of the

south had been overrun by the Emperor's armies and compelled to acknowledge his irresistible might.

According to Rai Chaudhary the Tribal States which paid homage were situated in the western and south-western fringe. Among these the most important were the Malvas, Arjuna Yanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Abhiras, Prarjunas, Sanakanikas, Kakas and Kharaparikas. Of these the locations of Malavas in the time of Samudragupta cannot be determined. In the time of Samudragupta's successors, however, they were probably connected with the Mandasor region.

The exact year of Samudragupta's death is not yet ascertainable. Dr. Rai Chaudhary holds that he died sometime after 375 A. D. (Political History of India. Page 282)

SAMUDRAGUPTA'S POWER

Samudragupta, as has been already described, was one of the most powerful rulers and conquerors of India. His celebrated reign had no parallel till the fourteenth century, when Malik Kafur led a similar marauding expedition over almost the same regions as were covered by the Hindu conqueror. But wider than the sphere of his direct dominion and authority was the sphere of his influence and suzerainty, the range of his international alliances and relations. Even foreign rulers like the king of Kabul were impressed by his power and wealth, and kept up friendly relations with him. We learn from the Chinese historian that king Meghavarman of Ceylone (352-79 A. D.) deputed two monks, one of whom is stated to have been his brother, to Bodh-Gaya to see Asoka's monastery to the east of the sacred tree there and pay homage to the Diamond Throne. The stranger's meeting with scant courtesy there, returned and induced the king to make arrangements for the proper

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accommodation of his subjects going on pilgrimage to India. He therefore sent an embassy with rich presents to Samudragupta to obtain permission to build a monastery for his subjects and the great Gupta Emperor graciously sanctioned the laudable project.

Samudragupta also took steps to have his suzerainty formally proclaimed by reviving the institution of horse sacrifice, which had fallen into abeyance in the long period of about 400 years after the Sunga emperor, Pushyagupta, during which time there did not appear any ruler in India to achieve the status of an emperor and claim to perform the ceremony appropriate for it. Several coins were struck on this occasion for being distributed as gifts among Brahmins. These coins show a figure of the horse to be sacrificed before an altar and the legend—"The Maharajadhiraja of irresistible valour having conquered the earth now wins heaven." On the reverse of these coins there is a portrait of his queen, which indicates that his queen was assigned an important part in the sacrifice.

PERSONAL CHARACTER OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

Samudragupta was not only the first soldier of his age, but a statesman of the highest order. He was, also a man of culture. The court poet describes him not only as brave and skilful in battle but also as a celebrated poet and a musician. He possessed a noble bearing, and was the favourite of his royal father as well as of the people at large. Though he was a Patron of Brahmanical religion, still he was of tolerant spirit and extended his favour to other religions also.

Ruthless towards his enemies, he was kind towards his own people. A warm heart was always beating under his coat of mail. Much information about the history of his career is supplied by the inscriptions of his time. Some of his coins also remarkably confirm this information. An inscription

describes how "being full of compassion, he had a tender heart that could be won over simply by devotion and obeisance" (I, 25). It also shows that regarding his own subjects, he was the very incarnation of kindness, whose mind busied itself with the support of the miserable, the poor, the helpless and the afflicted. He is also spoken of as the "giver of many hundreds of thousands of cows" (I, 25).

SAMUDRAGUPTA AS PATRON OF ART AND LEARNING.

Samudragupta was not noted more for his conquests than for his proficiency in the humanities of the times, his literary and artistic achievements. If Harishena, the writer of the Allahabad Prasasti, is to be believed, the great Gupta was a man of versatile genius. "He put to shame the preceptor of the lords of gods and Tumburu and Narada and others by his sharp and polished intellect and choral skill and musical accomplishments. He established his title of Kaviraja by various poetical compositions." Babu Radhakumuda Mukerjee, the renowned scholar of history, in his 'Men and Thought in ancient India' while drawing the picture of the life of this great Emperor remarks:—

"He was the prince of poets, whose various poetical compositions were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people and gave him an empire of fame for his enjoyment (Kirttirajyam bhunakti 1. 6). He was master of 'that true poetry which gives free vent to the power of the mind of poets.' Besides poetry, he also cultivated the sister art of Music."

CHANDRAGUPTA

Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Chandra Gupta II, Vikramaditya, born of Queen Dattadevi. Chandra Gupta was chosen by Samudragupta, out of many sons, as

the best fitted to succeed him. Another name of the new monarch disclosed by certain Vakataka inscriptions and the Sanchi inscription of A. D. 412 was Devagupta or Deoraja (Bhandarker, *Indian Antiquity*.1913. P. 160). For his reign we possess a number of dated inscriptions from which its limits may be defined with more accuracy than those of his predecessors. According to these inscriptions, his accession should be placed before A. D. 401-02.

Chandragupta II should have been of mature age when he succeeded his father and like him he reigned long and gloriously. His glorious rule is considered to be the proud achievement of Indian statesmanship. His ideal Government was the embodiment of the highest principles of Hindu polity. People enjoyed unprecedented prosperity and happiness during his pious and virtuous reign. Fa-Hien, who visited India from A. D. 405 to 411, has left an interesting account of the happy conditions of the country during the reign of this Great Monarch.

CHANDRAGUPTA AND HIS CONQUEST.

We have mentioned in a previous chapter that Kshatrapas were ruling in Malwa for about 300 years. Although not threatened by Samudragupta, they found it politic to court the favour of that great Gupta Emperor. But Chandragupta inherited an empire which almost touched on the borders of Saka kingdom and he felt powerful enough to reduce these foreign chiefs. He accordingly invaded their territory with a powerful army. This campaign against the western Kshatrapas is apparently alluded to, in the Udayagiri cave inscription of Virasenasaba in the following passage "He (Saba) came here, accompanied by the king (Chandragupta) in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world." The details of this struggle are unknown, but the last of the long line of Saka Satrapas

was killed and their dominions were annexed by Chandra Gupta II. The fall of the Saka Satrapa is alluded to by Bana and the annexation of their territory is proved by coins. This conquest extended the Gupta empire upto the Arabian sea, its natural frontier towards the west. The new acquisitions were, however, also important from other points of view. The Gujarat coast contained the important ports and harbours for playing between India and western world. Being Masters of these stations, the Gupta kings came into possession of a vast source of wealth. Besides, this empire was now opened up, as it were, to the western world, The free intercourse thus established between the Indian empire and the countries of the West was of far-reaching consequence.

UJJAIN AS THE CAPITAL OF CHANDRAGUPTA.

The original Gupta capital seems to have been at Patliputra. But after his western conquest, Chandragupta transferred his capital to Ujjain. Certain chiefs of the Kanarese districts, who claimed their descent from Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya, referred to their ancestor as Ujjaini-puravaradhiswar, उज्जैनीपुरावराधीश्वर (Rai Chaudhary's History of India). Sir R. G. Bhandarker identifies Chandragupta with the traditional Vikramaditya Sakaari of Ujjain. According to Katha Saritsagar, Chandragupta Vikramaditya is represented as ruling at Ujjain. Thus Ujjain became the seat of Chandragupta, who won undying renown in Indian Literature from the gifted men who adorned his court

Chandragupta II died leaving imperishable fame behind him which is still glorifying the pages of Indian History.

Chandragupta was a cultured patron of arts and learning. Many poets and scholars of renown flourished at

his court. According to some Scholars Kalidas and other nine poet-jewels, adorned his court. In short, we would say that the era of Chandra Gupta was the era of learning, arts and religious toleration. We are especially proud of this great cultured monarch because the rays emanating from the glory and splendour of this great and venerable king radiated from this sacred land of Malwa to places far and wide. Ujjain had the proud privilege of being the capital of this emperor of historic fame.

KUMAR GUPTA

Chandragupta II was succeeded by his son Kumar Gupta, who ruled from 415 to 455 A.D. His extensive coinage and the wide distribution of his inscriptions show that he was able to retain his father's empire including the Western provinces. It seems that Malwa was also included in his empire. But we are not certain as to whether he retained Ujjain as his capital or not. We know from Mandsores inscription of A.D. 437, that Bandhu Varman, a viceroy or feudatory of KumarGupta governed Dashapura (modern Mandsores) at this time.

Kumargupta performed an Ashwamedha sacrifice but towards the close of his reign, hordes of Hunas, the terrible scourge of mankind invaded India and threatened the mighty fabric of Gupta empire. For a long time, the fortune of the Guptas was tottering, but the heroic energy and the military genius of the crowned prince Scandagupta at last altered the situation. The Hunas were checked for time being and the empire was saved. So terrific was the conflict that the heir to the mighty empire had to pass a night on the bare ground. India, which was delivered from the fury of these fierce barbarians did not fail to show its gratitude to its saviour. We are told that songs of praise in honour of Scandagupta were sung in all directions

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by men, women and children. According to Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar, the old and aged emperor Kumar Gupta breathed his last in the midst of this great triumph. But Rai Bahadur Pt. Gauri Shankerji Ojha in his 'Hindi History of Rajasthan' assigns the death of this old emperor in the battlefield.

SCANDAGUPTA

Kumargupta was succeeded by his son Scandagupta, the hero of the nation. In an interesting paper read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. Mazumdar suggested that after Kumargupta's death, there was a fratricidal struggle in which Scanda Gupta came off victorious after defeating his brother including PuraGupta and rescued his mother, just as Lord Krishna rescued Deoki. (Bhitari Inscription). Scandagupta was probably advanced in age at the time of his coronation. But in any case he ruled for 10 or 12 years i. e. from 455 to 467 A.D. The fight with the Hunas and others, probably allied tribe Pushyamitras, continued at intervals throughout his reign. The Hunas did not abandon the idea of conquering India and were repeatedly knocking at her gates, but so long as Scandagupta lived and ruled he successfully guarded the frontier against them. Dr. Rai Chaudhary is of opinion that Scandagupta was victorious in the strife, while according to Dr. Smith he was unable to continue the successful resistance which he had offered in the earliest days of his rule, and was forced at last to succumb to the repeated attacks of the foreigners. (Early History of India IV Edition P. 328)

The Huna invasion, it may be held, must have completed the ruin of Magadha. But the empire did not wholly perish on the death of Scandagupta. It was ruled by Puragupta, NarsingGupta, KumarGupta II and

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BuddhaGupta respectively. Then the imperial line passed on to a dynasty of eleven Gupta princes known as the later Gupta monarchs of Magadha. The Damodar plates, Sarnath inscriptions, the Eran epigraph of Buddha, Gupta and the Betul plates of the Parivrajaka Maharaja Samkshobha dated in the year 518 A.D. testify to the fact that the Gupta empire continued to exert sovereign rights over some portion in the latter half of the fifth as well as the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.

INDIA UNDER THE GUPTAS.

The period of Gupta supremacy was one of peace and prosperity. The administration was highly organised and in a sense was more liberal than in the Maurya times. Fa-hien a Chinese pilgrim travelled through the Gupta empire during the reign of Chandragupta II and has left a very pleasing picture of the country. "The taxes were light and administration very liberal. Cruel punishments were abolished and harassing rules and regulations like registration and pass ports were unknown." Fa-hien everywhere witnessed the wealth and luxury of people and the economic condition was very satisfactory. Trade and commerce flourished, and the people followed various arts and crafts. There was, besides a tremendous intellectual and religious revival, accompanied by wonderful achievements in art and architecture.

We have said in the previous chapter that the Hunas, the scourge of the civilized world, were knocking at the gates of India during the last days of Gupta empire. These Hunas were a half civilised nomadic race generally believed to be of Mongol origin, who had within the previous century swarmed into Europe and spread desolation through it. The small Kushan kingdom of Kabul collapsed before them. Between A.D. 450 and 460 the

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Gupta sovereigns had to repulse small bodies of the invaders which rushed into Hindustan as vanguards of the main hordes. Some years later, the Gupta empire was shaken to its foundation by this nomadic tribe. About the same time, the great kingdom of Persia was shattered by another body of the Hunas who thus became supreme from the Volga to the Ganges

These wild Hunas poured like a deluge upon the fair valleys and cities of India. It is painful to describe the scenes that followed. Rapine, Massacre and incendiarism marked the route of the barbarians. Cities were blotted out of existence, finest buildings were reduced to a heap of ruins and temples and monasteries, even where they were not violently pulled down, stood empty and deserted. The valley of the Kabul and Swat rivers, one of the most flourishing centres of Indian civilization, was so completely devastated that the greater part of it has ever since remained outside the pale of civilization, fit only for the habitation of wild tribes.

The Hunas destroying provinces after provinces advanced towards the east and south and conquered the whole of Malwa. It looked as if the whole of India would lie prostrate before them. It was at this critical moment that Maukharis stood bull-work of Indian civilization. Under the leadership of Iesana Varman the Indians fought stubbornly to protect the sacred liberty of their country. The Hunas had become a great power both in Asia and Europe. Under Attila they hurled defiance at the Eastern and the Western Roman Empire from the banks of the Danube and now their Asiatic dominions extended from Persia to China. Their Indian capital was Sakala or Sialkot in the Punjab, and they were led by two valiant leaders, Toramana and his son Mihirakula. The task to which the Indians set themselves was thus a heavy one,

but after a long and arduous struggle the Maukhari chief succeeded in checking the Hunas and thus saved Eastern India from their aggression.

YASHODHARMAN AS THE SAVIOUR OF MALWA

Though the Hunas destroyed the Gupta empire, they were unable to found in its place a lasting kingdom of their own. Ugly and barbarous, they came into the land as marauders and remained such until they were expelled or destroyed a century later. Foraman (490-510 A. D.) attempted to establish a form of settled government over the Punjab, Rajputana and Central India. His son Mihit Kula (i. e. A. D. 510-530) followed in his steps and ruled in India for nearly a score of years. But the savage and inhuman cruelties gave birth to a desperate national rising against the Hunas. This insurrection was led by the great Yashodharman, the then king of Mandsore, in Malwa) with the help of Narasinga Gupta, a desendent of the Gupta family, which still ruled with diminished strength and splendour in Magadha. Yashodharman was also known as Vishnuvardhan. An impenetrable mystery hangs round his early career. We do not know anything about his parentage or family. He suddenly rose into prominence as a great conqueror, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon Mihirkula sometime about 538 A. D. Thus the Huna menace was removed, and Malwa once more breathed freely after nearly a century.

Yashodharman seems to have conquered nearly the whole of Northern India from the Arabian sea, and also a considerable part of Southern India. We are told that his arms penetrated as far as Himalayas and that he was lord of the countries which were not possessed even by the Guptas or the Hunas." He never bent his head to any one except the God Siva" runs the proud panegyric, "but

obeisance was made to his feet by even the famous king Mihirkula."

After making due allowance for poetical exaggeration, it can hardly be doubted that Yashodharman was a mighty king and his claim of having humbled the Huna power is founded on historical fact. Some writers identify this Yashodharman with the Vikramaditya of legendary fame whose name is associated with the Vikram era.

Yashodharman erected a monolithic pillar at Sondni near Mandsoor probably to commemorate his great victory over Hunas. The duplicate inscriptions on these pillars proclaim the prowess and glory of this mighty Emperor. Similarly one more inscription of Yashodharman was found at Mandsoor. It records the construction of a large well by Daksha, a private individual, in Malwa Samvat 520.

YASHODHARMAN AND HIS FAITH.

It seems that Yashodharman was a devotee of Shiva, as the invocations with which both his inscriptions open are addressed to that God. The existing relics of stone sculpture of this period, indicate that Dashapura† was then a strong centre of Shaivism and possessed numerous temples of Shiva.

MALWA AFTER YASHODHARMAN.

After Yashodharman, for some years, the history of Malwa is rather in obscurity. Yashodharman did not establish a new imperial dynasty is clear from the fact that new kingdoms sprang up all over Northern India within a few years of his great victory. Towards the close of the 6th century, Malwa was under the suzerainty of Mahasena son of Damodar Gupta. + (He is probably the same king of

†This is the old name of Mandsoor.

+From Nagarjun Hill cave inscription it transpires that Malwa was under the direct rule of the Guptas in the 6th and 7th centuries,

Malwa mentioned in the Harsha Charit, whose sons Kumargupta and Madhavgupta were appointed to wait upon Rajvardhan and Harsha Vardhan by their father-king Prabhakar Vardhan—of the Pushpabhuti family of shree-Kantha, Thaneshwar). The intimate relations between the family of Mahasena Gupta and that of Prabhakar Vardhan is proved by the Madhuban grant and the Sonpal copper seal inscription of Harsha which represent Mahasena Gupta Devi as the mother of Prabhakara, and the Appasad inscription of Adityasena which alludes to the association of Madhava Gupta, son of Mahasena Gupta with Harsha.

The Pushpabhuti alliance of Mahasena Gupta was probably due to his fear of the rising power of the Maukharis. The policy was eminently successful, and during his reign we do not hear of any struggle with that family. But a new danger threatened from the east. A strong monarchy was at this time established in Kamarupa by a line of princes who claimed descent from Bhagadatta. King Susthivarman (see the Nidhanapur plates) of this family came into conflict with Mahasena Gupta and was defeated. "The mighty fame of Mahasena Gupta," says the Apshad inscription, "marked with honour of victory in war over the illustrious Susthitavarman, is still constantly sung on the banks of the river Lohitya."

Between Mahasena Gupta, the contemporary of Prabhakar Vardhan, and his youngest son Madhavagupta, the contemporary of Harsha, we have to place a king named Deva Gupta II, who is mentioned by name in the Madhuban and Banskhera inscriptions of Harsha as the most prominent among the kings, "who resembled wicked horses" who were all subdued by Rajyavardhan. As the Gupta princes were uniformly connected with Malava in the Harsha Charita there can be no doubt that the wicked Deva Gupta is identical with the wicked lord of Malwa who cut off

Grahavarman Maukhari, and who was himself defeated "with ridiculous ease" by Rajyavardhana. It is difficult to determine the position of Deva Gupta in the dynastic list of the Guptas. He may have been the eldest son of Mahasena Gupta, and an elder brother of Kumargupta and Madhavagupta. His name is omitted in the Aphasad list, just as the name of Scandagupta is omitted in the Bhitari list.

HARSHAVARDHAN.

After the Guptas, the Empire of India passed into the hands of Harshavardhan or Harsha as he is generally known. It is needless to say that Malwa was also under the great Empire of Harsha and a Brahman king was ruling in Ujjain as his feudatory chief. When Huen Tsang, a Chinese pilgrim, visited Ujjain he found there numerous Buddhist monks and a great number of monasteries and Hindu temples. He says that the king of Ujjain was well versed in the heretical books of the Brahmins (Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India P. 561). From this it transpires that Brahminism and Buddhism were the prominent religions of Malwa at the time of Maharaja Harsha. Now we give a connected history of the great Emperor Maharaja Harsha.

Maharaja Harsha ascended the throne of Kannauj at the early age of 16. Confusion and anarchy was then rife in the land and his accession itself was one of their indirect results. As we have already mentioned, Harsha's brother-in-law, the Ruler of Kannauj was slain in battle and the widowed queen (Rajyashri) renounced the world and fled to the Vindhya Jungles. His elder brother was also killed by Sasanka. Both these sad events had followed soon after the death of Harsha's father, who had been suddenly stricken with mortal illness. Harsha's mother also became Sati on her husband's funeral pyre. A series of misfortunes

thus unexpectedly opened the way to the throne to Harsha who as a younger son, could not in the natural course have hoped to succeed to the throne. The sorrows of the family, and the difficulties of the earlier years of his life, made a profound impression upon the young king's mind and possibly gave his reign the serious turn which marked it.

Harsha commemorated his accession by founding a new era. He then rescued his sister, and avenged the wrongs of his family. The best part of the remainder of a long reign of forty two years (A.D. 606-648) was devoted to the task of conquering Hindustan and keeping peace within it. By A.D. 620, his dominions embraced all the territories forming the heritage of Chandaragupta II at his accession, with the addition of Bengal and Nepal. His power was also acknowledged by the powerful rulers of Kamrupa (Assam) and Valabhi (Gujarat), who paid him tribute. The only military failure of his reign was the defeat he sustained on the lines of the Narbada at the hands of the great Chalukya, Pulkesin II, king of Deccan, whose dominions adjoined his own. Harsha's military resources are stated as consisting of 60,000 war elephants and 100,000 cavalry. For the rest of his life (after his war with Pulkesin), Harsha was content to accept the Narabada as his southern boundary.

HARSHA THE IDEAL KING

Harsha was one of the greatest monarchs that India ever produced. He earned an undying reputation for his peaceful activities after the war with Pulkesin, so vividly described by the Chinese traveller Huen Tsang. High ideals of Hindu kingship were pursued by this great king whose name shed lustre on the pages of Indian History. "Work I must", said the greatest of great Indian monarchs "for public benefit". King Harsha maintained

the high principles of Hindu polity, shared the sorrows and pleasures of thousand of people among his subjects and strove to bring his people to the highest level of prosperity, culture and civilization. He was constantly touring his vast dominions with a view to be fully enlightened as to the true condition of his subjects and to remedy their grievances. He gave his personal attention to all matters of importance, though following the great Aryan tradition, the administration of the country was left to a state council. His large hearted liberality also expressed itself in his manifold work of public utility. "In all the highways of the town and villages throughout India, he created hospices (Punyashalas) provided with food and drink, and stationed there physicians with medicines for travellers and poor persons round about, to be given without any stint (Beal i, 214)." The provision of medical aid at the travellers' rest houses is an example even to present times. Bana also is equally eloquent about Harsha's public works and the humanity of his administration.

MAHARAJA HARSHA AS A PATRON OF LEARNING.

Like Chandragupta II of celebrated fame, Maharaja Harsha was a great patron of art and learning. His reign witnessed an out-burst of literary production. Renowned Sanskrit poets like Bana, Bhartahari, Mayoor and others, who have made their names immortal in the glorious history of Sanskrit literature, flourished in his time and adorned his court. Poet Bana was the author of the well known Kadambari and Harshacharita and is acknowledged as the greatest romancer in Sanskrit. That he was a writer of extraordinary ingenuity with an unrivalled command of words and a marvellous imagery, no one will doubt. His name will

be cherished in the columns of literary history for a long time to come.

Bhartrihari, who is considered to be a Sanskrit poet of very high order also flourished in the time of Maharaja Harsha (Butler's catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in Gujerat 2nd vol: Page 72). This great poet is perhaps the most widely read of all Sanskrit writers except world renowned poet Kalidasa. His celebrated work named Bhartahari Shataka (भर्तृहरि शतक) occupies the place of honour in Sanskrit literature. Bhartrihari is said to have thrice given up the world to follow the noble Eight fold path but each time he returned to the pleasures of laylife. Of his poems it is unnecessary to speak as they are some of the best known in the whole range of Sanskrit literature.

Similarly Mayoor, the Sanskrit poet of repute also adorned Maharaja Harsha's court. He is also the author of some well known works in Sanskrit.

Among examples of his literary patronage, we know of Bana himself, the author of the Harsha Charita and Kadambari, of Haridatta whom "He raised to eminence." (Ep. Ind I, 180), of Jayasena a man of encyclopaedic learning, whom he offered to settle in Orissa by a gift of the revenue of eighty large towns there (Life P. 154), and of Yuan Chwang whom he throughout treated almost with royal honours. At the conclusion of the assembly at Kanauj, the emperor offered him 10,000 pieces of gold, 30,000 pieces of silver, 100 garments of superior cotton, while each of the attending eighteen kings proposed to give him rare jewels. But all this offer the Chinese pilgrim could not see his way, as a truly spiritual man, to accept (Life P. 180). Indeed the rule of Harsha's literary and religious patronage was that a fourth of the revenue from the crown lands was to be given away in rewarding high intellectuals and another fourth in helping the various sects (Watters I. Page 196).

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HARSHA AS A POET.

The great Emperor was not only a patron of learning, but himself an author of no small merit. Three of the Sanskrit plays, Nagananda, Ratnavali and Priyadarsika which have survived the trials of time, achieved high reputation among lovers of Indian literature. In a word we may say that he was an accomplished man of letters, delighted in the society of learned men and poets, and was a very liberal but discerning patron so much so, that his name is remembered even more for his literary work and patronage than for his achievements as a king.

LAST DAYS OF HARSHA.

During his last years, Harsha enjoyed some respite from worldly struggles. He then actively devoted himself to the arts of peace, and the various pious offices dictated by his religious feelings. His court became well-known even in distant Buddhist countries, and he maintained friendly intercourse with the Chinese empire, and exchanged embassies with it. But the sad events of his earlier life, and the constant warfare in which he was engaged for nearly three fourth of his reign, had evidently worn out even his hardy frame, and he died in A.D. 648, before reaching his sixtieth year.

HARSHA AND HIS TIMES.

From the foregoing pages it would be as clear as daylight that Maharaja Harsha was one of the most extraordinary monarchs that India has ever seen. For a time he had the air of being the greatest monarch after Maharaja Chandragupta. His greatness was of his own making. India reached to a state of unique civilization during his reign i. e. in the first half of the 7th century. It was the time when the forces of anarchy and barbarism had

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completely destroyed the civilization of Rome in Europe and Persia was in its last days of degeneration in which it fell an easy prey in a few decades to the onslaughts of foreign invaders. In China, the great and glorious dynasty of Tangs ascended the throne only in 618. The celestial empire was at that time very much under the influence of the creed of Buddha. To the Chinese of the time India was the sacred land. Traversing deserts and mountains ranges, her children visited India in a spirit of veneration in order to study at her universities and partake of her culture. It is an undeniable fact that India in the 7th century was the most civilized country in the world.

MAHARAJA PULKESIN & SOUTHERN MALWA.

We have already mentioned that Pulkesin II, the powerful Chalukya Emperor, defeated Maharaja Harsha on the lines of the Narbada. By this victory Maharaja Pulkesin's fame and renown reached to its highest level at that time. He was remembered as the saviour of Southern India by a grateful posterity. The Latas, the Malavas and the Gurjars of Northern India seem to have acknowledged his suzerainty. From his Aihole inscription dated 634 A. C. we learn that he subdued the province of Malwa. It seems that the southern portion of Malwa was in the empire of Pulkesin II while the northern portion of the same was under Maharaja Harsha.

Maharaja Pulkesin was a great emperor. His reputation seems to have travelled beyond the confines of India and diplomatic relations were established between him and the then king of Persia. The Arab Historian Tabni tells us that in the 36th year of the reign of Khusru II (i. e. 626 A. C.) Rameswara, king of India, sent to the Persian

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court an embassay with a letter of greeting (Noeldeke. Geschiedichte. Tabri Page 371). A Fresco painting in the caves of Ajanta represents the reception of a Persian embassay at the Chalukaya court. All the evidence, we have, goes to prove that Pulkesin was a very powerful monarch, who shared with Harsha the sovereignty of India in the first half of the seventh century. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang pays a just tribute to the power and virtues of Pulkesin and the valour and heroism of his subjects. This great emperor was killed in the battle with Narsinga Verman, the Pallava King, in about 642 A.D.

MALWA UNDER PRATI HAR EMPIRE

After the death of Maharaja Harsha, confusion arose and his minister occupied the throne. After sometime Vatsaraj, a Parihar king of Mandor (Jodhpur State) raised his head against Kanauj and wrested the imperial power from the reigning king. According to Rai Bahadur Pt. Gaurishankerji Ojha, Vatsaraj invaded the king of Malwa but he was defeated. Vatsaraj was succeeded by his son Nagabhatta. The Buchakata inscription (Ep: Ind: IX, Page 1918) describes both Vatsaraj and Nagabhatta as Parama Bhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Parameshwara and confirms the fact that Vatsaraj had really "wrested Empire" from Kanauj and that Nagabhatta II too was emperor. According to Dr. Smith, Nagabhatta made Kanauj his capital sometime about 810 A.D.

Nagabhatta II was a very powerful king. Having established himself as emperor, he brought under his political influence many subordinate kingdoms and forcibly took possession of forts in the countries of Anarta (North Gujarat), Malava, Kirata (Vindhya hills), Turushka, Vatsa (Allahabad), Matsya (Jaipur) and other countries also. This shows the extent of the empire of Kanauj which

in the north extended to Himalaya and in the south west to Kathiawar. (Report of Archaeological Survey of India 1903-1905, Page 291). In the east it was bounded by Allahabad and in the west by the Punjab. He had defeated the king of Bengal (probably Dharampal). He was a devotee of Goddess Bhagawati. The name of his Queen was Istadevi, who was the mother of the heir-apparent Rambhadra. Chandraprabhasuri, reputed Jain author, in his prabhawak Charit (प्रभावक चरित) assigns his death in Vikram Era 890 or 833 A.D.

Nagabhatta was succeeded by his son Ram Bhadra. He was also recognised by the names of Rama and Ramdeo. He reigned for a very short duration. He was a devotee to the sun. The name of his Queen was Appadevi. After Rambhadra, Bhojdeo occupied the throne of Kanauj. He was also recognised by the names of Mihir and Adi Varah. He fought with the Rathor king Dhruvaraj of Lat country and according to the inscriptions of Rashtrakutas he was defeated. Five inscriptions of his reign dating from Vikram era 900 to 938 and a large number of silver and copper coins have been found. (Epi: Ind; Vol. IV P. 211). He was a great devotee of goddess Bhagavati. He had a long reign from 840 to 890 A.D. and very extensive dominion. The Sagar-Tala inscription, which was recorded in his time pour on him the utmost praise. It seems that his power was really acknowledged upto the Vindhya and from sea to sea. He again conquered even his formidable foe—the ruler of Bengal.

With the exception of Kashmir, Sindha, Magadha, Bengal and Chedi, the whole of Northern India was conquered by Bhoja. It is unnecessary to say that Malwa was also under his victorious banner. He fixed his capital at the imperial city of Kanauj and enjoyed the undisturbed possession of these extensive territories. He died about

830 A.D., leaving a consolidated empire to his son and successor Nahendrapaldeo. Al-Masudi (851) an Arab traveller, speaks very highly of his internal administration in the following lines:-

“The king of Juzr maintained a powerful army with the best cavalry in India and plenty of camels. He was extremely rich and his country in India was more safe from robbers” (Illiot I. P. 4),

Bhoja was succeeded by his son Mahendrapal Deo. The empire inherited from his father remained intact with him and epigraphic evidence amply proves that it included Saurashtra, Oudh, and the Karnal District of the Punjab. According to Dr. Rameshchandra Mazumdar a considerable portion of Magadha was also added by him to the Pratihar empire (Ancient History of India P. 387). At this time the Pratihara empire reached its high water mark of success and glory. Poet Rajya Shekhar, the reputed author of several well-known works, flourished in his court. He praised the king in the glowing terms in his works.

At the beginning of the 10th century, the Pratihar king Mahendrapal ruled an empire which, to quote the phraseology of the court poet Devapala, stretched from the source of the Ganges to that of the Reva (i. e. from the Himalayas to the Vindhya) and almost from the eastern to the western ocean.

Bhoja and Mahendrapal were the greatest emperors of the Pratihara line which ruled from about 800 to 1000 A.D. They had an extensive empire comprising almost the whole of Aryavarta and ruled it justly and secured peace and orderly administration for the people.

Bhoja II, the brother of Mahendrapal ascended the throne after him. He ruled from 908 to 910 A.D. Nothing of importance happened during his reign. He was succeeded by his brother Mahipal, who is mentioned in many

records and is said to have ruled probably from 910 to 940 A.D. (Dr. Smith, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society 1909, P. 269). His other names were Kshitipal and Vinayakpal. The power of the Kanauj Pratiharas seems to begin to decline from his time. It is mentioned in a Rashtrakuta record that Indra III captured Kanauj between 915 and 917 (Ep: Ind: VII, 30, 43) and the same incident is probably referred to by the Kanarese poet Pampa who states that Narsinha Chalukya father of his patron Ari Kesarin Karnatak defeated Kanauj and bathed his horses at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. He must, no doubt, have been a feudatory of Indra III and was present with his army when he conquered Kanauj. But as usual, Kanauj still lived under Mahipala with perhaps undiminished glory and Rajasekhara's play Bala Bharata or Prachanda Panda was performed before Mahipala at Kanauj. The Had-dala plates dated Dec. 22, 914 A.D. show that Mahipal was still the overlord of Kathiawar when the Chapa king Dharanivarshar made the grant as Samantadhipati, (Ind: Ant: XII, 190). He clearly states that his overlord was Mahipala as he was "ruling by the grace (prasada) of Mahipala Deo Parameshwara Rajadhiraja". It seems that Malwa was still under the Parihara kingdom which fact is clear from some of the inscriptions.

Mahipala was succeeded by his son Mahendrapal II. An inscription, which dates 1003 Vikram Samvat or 946 A.D., has been found at Pratapgarh. From it, it is clear that the Chauhan Chief of Ghauta Vashika (Ghotarsi) (which is 6 miles away from Pratapgarh) was his feudatory. Malwa was at this time under the direct government of Mahendrapala, who had appointed one Madhava, as his chief feduatory in Malwa. He made his headquarters at Ujjain Mahendrapal had also posted Shree Sharma as Commander-in-Chief at Mandu (then called as Mandapika).

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A sanad regarding the grant of a village Kharparpadraka in favour of a temple of the Sun God constructed at Ghotarsi by Indraraj bears the signature of Madhava and this fact convinces us that Madhva was the chief feudatory of Mahendrapala II in Malwa. (Hindi History of Rajputana, by Rai Bahadur Pt. Gaurishnakerji Ojha, Page 164).

After Mahendrapala II, five kings named Deopal, Bijaypal, Rajyapal, Trilochanpal and Yeshpal successively, ruled over Kanauj but during their weak administration the prestige of the Pratiharas sustained a serious blow. As is usual, their subordinate chiefs gradually began to assert independence and new powers arose within the empire. At last Yeshpal, the last king, was defeated by a Gaharwar chief named Chandradeo, who occupied the throne of Kanauj. The Parmara chiefs also, taking advantage of this opportunity, declared their independence.

MALWA IN THE PARMAR KINGDOM.

In the declining days of the great Pratiharas Empire, the Paramaras of Malwa who were probably the feudatories of the Pratiharas asserted their independence and became the absolute masters of the province. They seem to have built their kingdom on the ruins of the great Pratihar Empire, which one day was shining like a brilliant star on the political firmament of India.

These Parmars of Malwa have attained a greater historical celebrity than the other dynasties of Rajputs on account of their extensive patronage to learning and poetry. The Narmada marked their southern boundary, and their dominion extended over a great part of the ancient kingdom of Avanti, Ujjain and Dhar were their chief towns. The Parmar territories were surrounded by warlike and ambitious states like Kanauj, Mahoba, Chedi, Gujarat and the Chalukyan kingdom in the Deccan and so its kings had

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consequently to maintain a constant watch over the frontiers.

According to 'Nawasahasang Charit' and various inscriptions the dynasty of Parmars originated at Mount Abu and they belonged to Agnikula. Rai Bahadur Pt. Gaurishankerji Ojha observes that a number of members of this dynasty migrated to Malwa from Abu. (Ojha's History of Rajputana, Vol. 1 Page 183). The earliest name which occurs in the inscriptions of the Malwa Parmar kings is that of Krishnaraj. He is also recognised by the name of Upendra. According to the Prashasti of Udeypur, he performed many sacrifices and rose to eminence by his own valour and skill. 'Nawasahssang Charit' makes a mention of his great power and glory. He had two sons, named Berisingh and Dambarsingh, of whom Berisingh succeeded him and Dambarsingh received the province of Bagad (in Dungarpur Banswara states) as a Jagir (History of Rajputana P. 184). According to Rao Bahadur Vaidya Krishnaraj probably distinguished himself first as a subordinate chief and then as an independent king in about 910 A.D., when the kanauj Pratihar Empire had begun to decline and had received shock from the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III, in the days of Mahipala, who has been assigned a rule from 908 to 940 A.D. (History of Medieval Hindu India P. 119). He reigned for 39 years and then retired to a Vanprastha life with his wife (Dhar Sansthanche Itihas by Mr. K. K. Lele). As already said above, Upendraraj was succeeded by his son Berisingh. He was the first king who secured mastery over the town of Dhar and made it his capital. According to Pt. K. K. Lele, the renowned historian, he reigned for 27 years. He left this mortal world at the age of 71 years.

Siyak ascended the throne after Berisingh. He led expeditions against several contemporary kings. He secured

a brilliant victory over the Rashtrakuta king of Manyakuta (Deccan) in 991 A.D. and compelled him to accept his suzerainty. The poet Dhanpal says that he composed his work (Paiyya lachhi) in 1029 Vikram era, when Manyakheta had been plundered by the ruler of Malwa and Dr. Buhler thinks that this must refer to the attack on and defeat of Rashtrakuta king by Siyak. Siyak also defeated the Hunas and secured brilliant victory over them. By this victory he came in the possession of a over flowing treasury (Lele's Marathi History of Dhar).

Siyak was succeeded by Munja or Vakpatiraj in the year 975 A.D. He was a great and ideal king and will be remembered in the annals of Malwa for long ages to come Udaipur (Gwalior) Prashasti mentions in glowing terms the unprecedented glory and splendour of this great king. He humbled the proud kings of Gujerat, Karnatak and Chola and made them his feudatories (Epi: Ind: Vol: 1, P. 227). He won a brilliant victory over Yuvarajdeo Kalachuri the king of Chedi, put to sword his military generals and looted his capital (Udaipur Prasashti Ep: Ind: Vol: 1, P. 235). He also invaded Mewar, broke down Aghatpur and annexed the province adjoining Malwa and Chittor to his kingdom (Ep: Ind: Vol: 10, P. 20)

It is needless to say that Maharaja Munja's reign was of almost continuous fight with his contemporary kings. According to Merutungacharya a jain author of repute, he launched 16 military expeditions against the Chalukya Tailappa II. He came off victorious in almost all the campaigns except the last in which he was unfortunately captured and beheaded¹ by his relentless enemy. According

¹ According to some writers Munja received a generous treatment from his victor's hands. King Tailappa entrusted the education of his beautiful sister Mrinalwati to him but she fell in love with the Malwa king. Munja asked her to enter into a conspiracy to run away with him but the plot was discovered by her brother and the result was that Munja was most cruelly murdered.

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to Rao Bahadur Vaidya the statement of these 16 military expeditions is exaggerated (History of Medieval India P. 120) However, it is quite clear that Munja inflicted a crushing defeat on Tailappa in more than one campaigns and was at last beheaded at the hands of the latter. It is a sorry fact that the illustrious ruler of a vast learning met his death in such a way.

MAHARAJA MUNJA'S EXPEDITION OF MEWAR.

No inscription found either in Malwa or in Mewar makes any mention that the Parmar Raja Munj (Vakpatti Raj, Amoghvarsh) of Malwa had ever marched on Mewar. But there is an inscription, dated 1053 Vikram era (997 A.D) at Bijapur in Godvad district of Jodhpuri, belonging to the reign of Raja Dhawal, the Rathod King of Hastakundi, which says that when Munj had destroyed the proud city of Agha (Ahad), he (Dhawal) had helped the cause of Mewar. This march must probably have taken place in the time of Shaktikumar-for Munj and Shaktikumar were contemporary rulers. It seems that Munj had taken not only Ahad but also the fort of Chittore and the adjoining districts. Maharaja Bhoj of celebrated fame, who succeeded Munj (son of Sindhuraj, Munja's brother) was living in the fort of Chittore, and had also built there the temple of Tribhuvan Narayan now called Mokajji Siddheshwarji's Mandir after his own name.

It is not definitely known how long Chittore remained with the Parmars after Bhoj. But it is conjectured that when Siddaraj Jayasingh of Gujarat, after a long-fought battle of twelve years with Narvarma and his son Yashovarman, must not have left Chittore unconquered. Some

inscriptions of his successor Kumarpal, have been found at Chittore. After Kumarpal Chittore once more fell into the hands of Parmars (Hindi History of Rajasthan by Ojha).

Another inscription, found at Chittore, which is of the time of Raval Samar Singh and is dated 1356 V. C. (1302 A.D.) speaks of the Prashashtis in "Bhojaswamidevj-agati" (The temple built by Bhoj Roy). Mues. Rec. A.D. 1920-21 Page 4).

MAHARAJA MUNJA'S CHARACTER

Maharaja Munja was a great and renowned king of his time and was a terror to his contemporary kings. His sword was successful in many battles of note. He exhibited great tactics in the warfare. His contemporary authors and poets speak of his great valour and military power in glowing terms.

Maharaja Munja was also a great and distinguished patron of art and learning and an author of very high order. He was a true worshipper of Saraswati i. e goddess of learning and his court was adorned by illustrious and renowned literary personalities, who left unperishable name in the history of Sanscrit literature. Special mention may be made of Dhanpal, the author of *Tilakmanjari*, Padmagupta, the author of *'Nawasahasang Charit,'* Dhananjaya, the author of *'Dasharupaka,'* Dhanika, the commentator of *'Dasharapa,'* Halayudha, the author of *'Mritasanjiwani'* -commentary on *'Pingal Sutra'* and *Amitgati*, the author of *'Subhashit Ratna'* and others. His court was the assemblage of learned celebrities. He considered it a proud privilege to pay his homage to the poets, philosophers and the scholars of his time and so he was rightly regarded as *Kavimitra* (friend of the poets) and *Kavibandhu* (brother of the poets). Poet Padmagupta gives very high tribute to his scholarly pursuits in his *Nawasahasanga Charit*,

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He gave a great impetus to arts and learning and so some poets and scholars reached to the pinnacle of glory under his liberal patronage. This was the cause that when Maharaja Munja left this mortal world, the poets were in despair and the goddess of learning was considered to be without support by the contemporary writers.

He built many grand palaces and constructed many tanks, wells and rest houses. Mr. Lele in his Marathi History of Dhar, says that Munja excavated many tanks in Dhar, which he first made his capital. One beautiful tank is still called Munjasagar, while there is another tank known after Sindhuraj alias Kunja, as Kunjasagar. There is a Munja tank at Madhogarh also. Munja also built ghats and temples at Ujjain, at Maheshwar on the Nerbada and at Onkareshwar and Dharampuri (History of Medieval India by C. C. Vaidya, Page 23) He utilized his treasury for the good of his people and thus secured for himself a notable place among the most popular kings of India that history ever knew.

SINDHURAJ

As Maharaja Munja had no son, he was succeeded by his younger brother Sindhuraj, the father of the illustrious king Bhoj. Like Munja he was a great warrior and the star of Parmar kingdom, shone brilliantly during his reign. He defeated the Hunas (Ep: Ind: Vol: 1, P. 228) and brought the king of Kosala, Bagad and Lat under his victorious banner. (Nawasahasang Charit Chapter X). The kingdom of Paramars extended far and wide in his time. The provinces of Kerala and Konkan were also under his political influence. Poet Padmagupta compiled an epic named 'Nawasahasang' in his praise. From this epic we know that Sindhuraj married a beautiful princess of Naga Dynasty named Shasiprabha. His Prime Minister was Ramangad, who was a great statesman of the time.

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DEATH OF SINDHURAJ

Inscriptions, grant plates and other chronicles regarding Malwa Parmars are silent about the time and place of Sindhuraja's death. But Jaisinghsuri, the reputed author of 'Kumarpalcharit' observes that Chamundrai, king of Gujerat, killed Sindhuraj. A Baranagar Prashashti of Solanki king Kumarpal, which dates 1208 Vikram era, also mentions the death of Sindhuraj at the hands of Chamundrai, the king of Gujerat. According to Rai Bahadur Pt. Gaurishankerji Ojha Sindhuraj died sometime between 993 and 997 A.D.

BHOJDEO

Maharaja Bhoj, the son of Sindhuraj ascended the throne after his father's death. He was also distinguished by the title of Tribhuvan Narayan. He was one of the most distinguished kings of India, who had contributed much to the culture and civilization of this great land. He was rightly regarded as the incarnation of Saraswati i.e. the goddess of learning. History glorifies him as a great patron of learning and a prince of high culture. His glorious reign of more than forty years is still remembered in numerous Indian legends. Popular tradition has invested him with all the qualities of an ideal king and even today the name of Bhoj stands for all that is good and great in an Indian Ruler. He was a great patron of learning and himself an author of considerable reputation. He administered his empire with justice and liberality. In his time the learned were treated with distinction and seekers after knowledge were encouraged by his support. According to Abul Fazal, the contemporary of the great Moghul Emperor Akbar, 500 sages, the most erudite of the age, shone as the gathered wisdom of his (Bhoj's) court and

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were entertained in a manner becoming their dignity and merit. (Ain-I-Akbari P. 216, Pt. III).

MAHARAJA BHOJ AND MUNJA

We have mentioned the greatness of the illustrious king Bhoj and now we give in brief the historical sketch of this venerable king. A strange story is current about the plot made by Munja to kill Bhoj in his childhood. According to popular tradition it transpires that a certain astrologer told king Munja that his death was destined at the hands of Bhoj. This fact stirred Munja and he arranged a plot against the life of Bhoj inspite of the fact that Bhoj was near and dear to his heart. He entrusted this work to one of his trusted followers named Vatsaraj and ordered him to kill Bhoj secretly. When Vatsaraj asked Bhoj to be prepared for death, Bhoj requested Vatsaraj to convey his last words to the king, which run as follows:—

“How doth darkness of soul in a man cast him out of the light of wisdom, and in unholy machinations stain his hands in the blood of the innocent! No monarch in his senses thinks to carry with him to the grave his kingdom and treasures, but thou by slaying me seemest to imagine that his treasures perpetually endure and that he himself is beyond the reach of harm”.

The Raja on hearing this message, was aroused from his day dream of fancied security and brooded in remorse over his crime. His agents, when they witnessed the evidences of his sincerity revealed to him what had occurred. He gave thanks to God, welcomed Bhoj with much affection and appointed him as his successor.

CONQUESTS OF BHOJ

As we have mentioned above Bhoj was one of the greatest kings that India ever produced. He was not merely

a great patron of learning but also a hero of pre-eminent prowess, the grandeur of whose greatness shone among men like that of the sun among stars. In the Udaipur Prashasti he is said to have ruled over the whole of India from the Himalayas to Rama's bridge. This fact is also corroborated by the two verses in the grants of Gahadavala kings Madanpal and Govind Chandra, which is a clear proof that Bhoj was for a time acknowledged as the supreme king of India.

Bhoj avenged the death of his uncle by waging wars against the Chalukyas. He also made the rulers of Gujerat and Chedi feel the weight of his arms. He won splendid victories over the rulers of Gujerat, Anhilwara and Karnatic and compelled them to acknowledge his sovereignty. In the Prashasti, he is said to have conquered Turks but who were these Turks, we do not know. Prathviraj Vijay, which is considered to be an epic of great historical value, mentions that king Bhoj of Avanti defeated and killed Viryaram, the then Chohan king to Sambhar. From a copper grant plate of Bhoj, discovered in Banswara, we know that province of Kokan was also, for the time being, under his political influence.

Though Bhoj was a warrior of undoubted prowess, but his fame mainly rests upon his literary achievements. Himself a scholar, well versed in poetry, architecture, astronomy and other branches of learning, he was a prince of exceptional genius, whose liberality freely extended to men of letters and learning. The traditions that are current upto now inform us that he used to give a princely sum of a lakh of rupees for a new and a single verse to the poets. He gave the greatest possible impetus to the development of education among his people and it is said that even the cottages of the humblest of his subjects were illumined by the light of learning and education. Philosophical and religious

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discussions used to be held everywhere in his ideal Empire. Many poets and scholars, such as Vararuchi, Subandhu, Amar, Magh, Dhanpal, Mantung, Ballal flourished in his court. Alberuni, a Persian poet of Mohanmad Gazani, also pays his tributes to this learned king in the glowing terms.

BHOJ & SANSKRIT COLLEGE.

Bhoj established a Sanskrit College named Saraswati Kanthabharana at Dhar, wherein he placed some valuable works on religion, history and other subjects, inscribed on stone slabs but it was ruthlessly destroyed by the Mohammadans, who, reared a mosque named Kamal-Maula in place of the former to commemorate this act of wanton desecration.

BHOJ AND ARCHITECTURE.

Bhoj gave much encouragement to the art of architecture. The famous Bhojapur lake to the south of Bhopal, which extended over an area of 250 square miles, was constructed during his reign, and it continued to testify to the greatness of his architectural designs until its waters were drained off by Hushang Shah of Malwa in the fifteenth century.

According to Udaipur Prashasti he built the temples of God Shiva in such distant places as Somanath, Rameshwar, Sundira (East coast) and Kedarnath. He also built a temple of Mahakal in his own kingdom. Even in distant lands like Kashmir which could not have acknowledged him as suzerain, he built a tank at his expense to commemorate his name in that country. Kalhana, the court poet of Kashmir gives the interesting story in the Rajatarangini and states that Bhoj of Malwa had taken the vow of washing his face every morning with water of this Papasudana

Tirth in Kashmir and one Padmaraja, a favourite attendant of the Kashmir king of the time enabled Bhoj to observe this vow by constantly sending him glass vessels filled with water from the tank. (Rao Bahadur Vaidya's History of Medieval India P. 167)

MAHARAJA BHOJ AND HIS BENIGN ADMINISTRATION.

Maharaja Bhoj was an ideal Hindu king. He was extremely devoted to the welfare and prosperity of his subjects. Malwa rose to the highest level of prosperity and happiness in the benign government of this venerable king. His government enjoyed an exemplary popularity. Oppression and exactions were unknown in his kingdom. People were treated by him like his own sons. There was harmony between the interests of the people and his own. Though his government in a literal sense was a personal government but it was much more virtuous and benign than the democratic governments of the present day. Rao Bahadur Vaidya rightly observes in his history of 'Medieval Hindu India: Vol. III', that "Malwa seems to have been extremely prosperous during his reign and his government was so good that it brought him large revenues without being oppressive. In this affluence, therefore, we have the evidence of both the prosperity of his country and the orderliness and benignity of his administration."

BHOJ AND HIS LITERARY WORKS.

King Bhoj was an author of considerable reputation. He compiled works on various subjects such as poetry, grammar, yoga, religion, architecture etc: etc:

In his list of Sanskrit works, Aufrech, the Ferman scholar, has given the names 23 books compiled by the

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learned Bhojraj. The western scholars regard him as the Augustus of India.

THE LAST DAYS OF MAHARAJA BHOJ.

Towards the close of Maharaja Bhoj's life, his enemies became very strong and powerful, and they determined to feed fat their old grudges. The rulers of Gujerat and Chedi, named Bhimdeo and Karna respectively, who had suffered considerably at his hands, led an attack against him with a re-doubled force. At this time, Maharaja Bhoj was confined to bed on account of illness and so for want of capable leadership, his armies were defeated by the overwhelming forces of the enemies. According to the late lamented Col: Luard and Mr. Lele, Maharaja Bhoj died soon after this defeat. His death was an irreparable blow to the Parmar clan and according to a contemporary poet, Dhar was enveloped in darkness after Bhoj. Though Maharaja Bhoj is no more in his mortal frame amongst us, his life can be a source of inspiration to those into whose hands the lives and prosperity of millions of people lie. Maharaja Bhoj's life was an institution in itself and it shines like a star in the pages of the glorious history of this sacred and great land.

JAYASINHA.

Jayasinha succeeded to the throne of his father Bhoj. At the time of Maharaja Bhoj's death, Dhar, the capital of his empire, was in the hands of the invaders. After their return, Jayasinha took the reins of the government in his own hands. He had a very short and chaotic reign; so much so that no trace of his name is found in the geneology of the Bhoj dynasty. An inscription attached in the Mandaleshwar temple of village Panaheda in the Banswara State, which dates 1116 Vikram era,

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gives the description of his valour as also that of his feudatory—the Parmar of Bagad. It says that the latter made Kanha, his captive and presented him before Jayasinha. It is not known whose general this Kanha was, and as such, it is not possible to trace the effect of this great victory. However, from the subsequent records, it seems that the circumstances remained as they were and Jayasinha was probably again driven away from his kingdom.

Jayasinha is said to have erected in Dhar a great building named Kailash Bhawan, for the lodging of Sadhus and Yatis, which is the only thing of note in his short-lived rule.

U D A Y A D I T Y A .

After Jayasinha, Udayaditya, a relative of Bhoj, by his valour, rescued the Malwa kingdom from its chaotic conditions. From his time the kingdom of Malwa appears to have embarked upon a second period of successful career, though not as brilliant as that of Munj and Bhoja. He soon dispelled the enemies from Malwa and with the assistance of Chauhan king-Vigraharaj he conquered king Karan of Gujerat (Prithviraj Vijay Chapter V).

Udayaditya was a powerful king and had the conquering ambition of his ancestors in him. He was a great builder like his predecessor. The lofty Siva temple at Udepur, a town founded by him after his own name, still bears testimony to the greatness of his glory and art. This temple has the highest pinnacle amongst the buildings of ancient India and the structure is of lime stones placed one upon another without any mortar. The stones are held together by being correctly cut and set and bear testimony to the skill of the architect and the carver of the time. The temple abounds with inscriptions of old that furnish us with ample information about the Parmars. Of these

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inscriptions the earliest two are those of Udayaditya himself. They show that the construction of the temple was begun in 1059 A. D. and finished in 1080 A. D. (Luard and Lele Page 22).

Several another inscriptions also corroborate the fact that king Udayaditya had a great taste and admiration for architecture. The blurred marks of certain Sanskrit names and roots engraved under the orders of this king can still be seen on the building of the Sanskrit school in Dharanagari, erected by Raja Bhoj. (History of Rajputana P. 193).

Udayaditya had three sons named Lakshmidhar, Narvarmdev and Jagadhar and a daughter named Shyamal devi. The last named was married to a prince of Guhil clan named Vijaysingh. Udayaditya was a very learned person and he endeavoured to educate his three sons also. His ambition was realised in the great learning of his second son Narvarmandev who shone out among the contemporary poets and pandits as the author of several Prashashtis. His third son Jogdhar had great influence with the Chalukyan king Siddharaj, who not only treated him as his equal but enchanted by his might and valour, conferred on him his daughter in marriage. Jagdhar, besides being a great warrior, was a highly religious man. He was an ardent devotee of Kali, and it is said of him that he once offered his head in sacrifice to his diety.

L A K S H M A N A D E V A .

Udayaditya was succeeded by his eldest son Lakshmanadeva, who was a great warrior and a scholar of his age. The Nagpur Prashashti contains many verses bestowing high praise upon him. These verses contain a description of his Digvijaya commencing from Gauda and including Chedi, Chola, Pandya, Ceylon and many other kingdoms and ending with the Turushkas on the Vankshu (oxus)

and the Kira king in the Himalayas. (History of Medieval India by Vaidya).

N A R A V A R M A D E V .

Lakshamanadeva died childless and was succeeded by his younger poet-brother Naravarmadeva. In splendour and discipline his rule resembled that of his father. From Prabhandha Chintamani we come to know that during his reign, the then ruler of Gujarat went on a pilgrimage to Somanath with his mother after entrusting the work of the administration to his minister Santu. At this time Narwarma, who is named in the afore-said book as Yashovarman (vide P. 195, History of Rajputana), invaded Gujarat and compelled the minister to come to terms. Narwarma agreed to return only when the latter accepted to confer all the merits of pilgrimage of his lord on him. When Jayasingh returned from pilgrimage he determined to take revenge and gradually annexing village after village reached near Dhar. Here, it is said, he finally met with Narwarma and defeated him. This conflict continued for a period of twelve years and during this time Narwarma breathed his last. His death is said to have taken place on the 8th day, of Kartik of 1190 Vikram Samvat (Ojhas History of Rajasthan P. 195).

Narwarma was the author of many Prashashtis. The Nagpur Prashashti which is famous in connection with the history of the Parmars is the product of his pen. A fragment of an unpublished Prasasti found in the Mahakala temple at Ujjain is also his composition (Luard and Lele Page 29). In short we can say that in Narwarma one could see the reflection of his ancestor Bhoj, in respect of learning, magnanimity and taste for hearing the Pandit's debates & discussions. In Bhjoa-Sala at Dhar and in Uma and Mahakala temples at Ujjain inscriptions in surpentine

form have been found which give the Sanskrit noun and verb terminations of Panini accompanied by verses containing the names of Udayaditya and Narawarman and making punning allusions to their valour and learning. (History of Medieval India by Mr. Vaidya Page 71).

Naravarman, like his forefathers Udayaditya and Bhoj, himself was a devotee of Shive, but he was tolerant of other religions, especially Jainism, which was then spreading in Gujrat and Malwa and whose teachers were indeed powerful disputants. Disputations (**शास्त्रार्थ**) were often held before Narawarman between the Jain and the orthodox Hindu Pandits. A disputation of note was held in his time at Mahakala temple of Ujjain between Jaina Muni Ratnasuri and a Saivite teacher named VidyaSivavadin. In such disputations it appears that the Jain Pandits usually got the upper hand which led to their influencing the king themselves before whom they were held. The Parmar kings however, remained devotees of Shiva throughout and Naravarman, though an admirer of Jain scholars and respectfully referred to by them, was never converted to Jainism (Gazetteer of Dhar P. 31).

Y A S H O V A R M A D E V .

After Narvarmadev, his son Yashovarman ascended the throne. Glory is proverbially short lived and the glory that Udayaditya had attained, was now seeing its last flickering moments. Siddharaj Jaisingh, the king of Gujrat was at that time leaving no stone unturned in his efforts to extend his territory. The contest that sprang up in the time of Narvarman had not still ended. At this time Jayasinha again marched on Malwa with great force. He stationed his armies at Ujjain and carried on his extensive military operations against Dhar. At length, according to the advice of a spy, he attacked the capital from the south

and broke in with the help of his elephant, named Yashahpat. Now was Yashodharma's pride completely crushed; and he along with his family was taken captive by Jaya Sinha who annexed to his kingdom the fort of Chittorgarh and a greater portion of Malwa, including Bagad etc. After this Yashovarman was condemned to severe rigorous imprisonment at Anahilvadapattan. It is said that Siddharaj Jaisinha, who after the great victory, assumed the title of 'Avantinath' had avowed that he would sheathe his sword only in the entrails of Yashovarman; and now had come the opportunity to fulfill his vow. Jayasinha, therefore, made known this desire to his minister Shantu. But Shantu had the man in him. He boldly held before his master the terror of the illfame he was sure to get by putting to sword a helpless captive who had already reached his deserts and that too only for the satisfaction of a certain whim. Again, he observed that if Jayasinha was bent upon fulfilling his vow, he could very well do so and at the same time save himself from the disrepute by sheathing his sword in the entrails of some other animal and cut only a piece of Yashovarman's entrails from a harmless part to add to that of the animal. Jayasinha wisely followed this advise and the life of Yashovarman was thus saved (Prabandha Chintamani Merutungachrya). It is also said that Yashovarman was kept in a wooden cage at Anahilvadapattam (Now kadee pattani) where he received a very disgraceful treatment. Many efforts and entreaties were made for his release but Jayasinha remained entirely indifferent to them. Eventually with the help of the Chauhan prince of Ajmer, Yashovarman made friendship with Jayasinha and secured his release. He also succeeded in getting back a portion of his lost kingdom. Siddharaj Jayasinha died in 1142 A.D. and Yashovarman did not long survive him.

Rai Bahadur Pt. Gauri Shankar Ojha holds that the great defeat was inflicted on Yashovarman sometime between

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1192 to 1195. An inscription preserved by the Municipality of Ujjain dating Vikram Samvat 1195, supports this view as it gives a reference to Jayasinha's victory as also the name of one Mahadeo who had been appointed as governor of Malwa by the former.

JAYAVARMAN

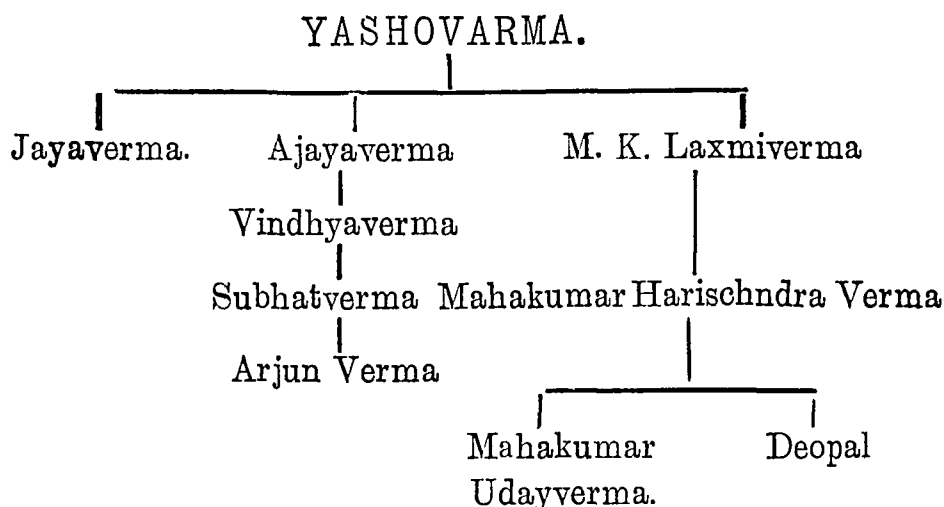
Yashovarman was succeeded by his son Jayaverman who was a nominal king. According to some historians, he ruled in Malwa as a feudatory to the Solanki king of Gujarat. We find his name inscribed in some of the copper plates of the time.

Ajay Verma, the younger brother of Jayaverma occupied the throne of Dhar, after Jayaverma. According to Rai Bahadur Pandit Gauri Shankerji Ojha he snatched away the kingdom of Malwa from Jayaverma. Mr. Lele, in his Marathi History of Parmars observes "After the death of Yashoverma, his two sons Jayaverman and Ajay Verma were never at peace with each other over matters domestic. This resulted, in the division of the family into two branches each ruling over a separate part of the kingdom. The members of the senior branch were recognised as the kings of Malwa, while those of the junior branch were called Mahakumars." In the grant of Mahakumar Udayverma, which dates to Vikram 1256, we find that Mahakumar Laxmi verma established his kingdom by the strength of his sword after the decline of the kingdom of Maharaja Dhiraj Parameshwar Jayaverma. Rai Bahadur Pandit Guri Shankarji Ojha in his 'Hindi History of Rajashtan' opines that at the time when Ajayverma snatched away the kingdom of Jayaverma, Laxmi verma was on the side of Jayaverma in the hope of usurping some portion of the country. This view is also supported by the grant of Mahakumar Harishchandra Verma which clearly testifies that

Mahakumar Laxmi Verma gained the province by the favour of Jayaverma.

According to Mr. Lele, the first branch (that of Jayaverma) governed the province between Bhelsa and the Narbada; and the second (that of Ajayavarma) governed the province round about Dhar. These two branches still continued on terms bad and inimical, for a good length of time.

We give below a geneological tree of both the families of Parmars.



The names of the first two princes of the Junior branch, are known from the grants made in their time. The first grant dates to 1200 Vikram Samvat or 1143 A.D. (Ind: Ant: Vol: 16, Page 254), while the second which was issued by Harischandravarman and which has been found in Village Pipaliya in Bhopal State, dates to 1235 Vikram Samvat or 1178 A. D. (Indian Antiquary Vol. 19. Page 352—353). Similarly another दानपत्र (Grant-plate) of 1256 Samvat fixed the reign of Mahakumar Udayvarman in Malwa. Now we proceed with the account of the kings of senior branch.

VINDHYAVERMA. (1160—80)

Vindhyaverma was determined to expand the borders of his dominion, when, in 1176 A. D., Ajaypal, the ruler of Gujerat at the time, breathed his last, thus giving an opportunity for Malwa to raise its head once more from its bondage to Gujerat. Surely Malwa would have raised its head and overthrown the weak Gujerat kingdom, had not Vindhyaverma again tapped it down with his fresh conquests of certain parts of Malwa.

Vindhyaverma was a man of no small literary abilities. The famous poet Bilkan was his minister; and according to an inscription found at Mandu, was his favourite also. In his time, there was a Jain Pandit, Ashadhar, who lived in the temple of Neminath at Nalkachhapur (present Nalchha). He trained many a pupils in the different Shastras he knew and his works on Vaidyashastra, Alankarshastra etc: clearly speak of his great abilities.

SUBHATVERMA. (1180—1210).

Subhatverma succeeded his father Vindhyaverma. He was also a powerful ruler and further restored the power of Malwa. He seems to have freed Malwa from the yoke of Gujerat. This fact is corroborated by Prabandha Chintamani and Kirti Kaumudi which give the description of this expedition of Subhatverma and his retirement after the compromise made with Lawan Prasad, the then Diwan of Gujerat. A grant of Arjun Verma clearly indicates the defeat of Gujrat king by Subhatyrma and pours praise on the latter's glorious victory. (Bengal Asiatic Society Journal Vol: V, Page 378). A Yadav king of Deogiri is said to have conquered Malwa but probably this was an unimportant victory. Subhatverma's reign is given by col. Luard and Mr. Lele as extending from 1186 to 1210 A. D.

ARJUNVARMA.

Arjunvarma succeeded to the throne of his father Subhatvarma. He too was a mighty prince. The famous Prasasti-like drama of 'Parijat Manjari' gives us a very lucid account of a pitched battle between Arjunvarma and Jayasimha (the ruler of Gujerat); and of how the latter was utterly defeated and put to flight. The drama has been deciphered and edited in Ep: Ind: VIII. It was composed by Madana, who was a pupil of Ashadhara, the Jain Pandit and Guru of the king. The drama was acted in the Saraswati Bhawan on the occasion of a spring festival.

Arjunvarma was a great poet and a musician. He gave good encouragement to music. His commentary Rasiksanjivani, on Amarushatak is well known in the field of literature. He is also said to have written commentaries on the works of Bhoja. He thus seems to have been brave, learned and liberal like his ancestor-Bhoja-and like him again he seems to have been fortunate also.

Arjunverma, leaving no son behind him, enabled the Parmar ruler of the province between Bhelsa and the Narbada, to inherit the throne. Thus were the two branches, separated for long, united into one.

DEVAPALA (1216 - 40)

Devapala, a grandson of Laxmiverman of the junior branch occupied the throne after Arjun Deo who probably died childless. He was also known by the name of Saha-smal. There are three inscriptions and one grant of his time which date to Vikram Samvat 1275, 1286 and 1289 respectively. (Indian Antiquary Vol: 20, Page 311). In his time the kingdoms round about Malwa were being subjected to constant attacks from the Musalmans. In 1232 A. D. Shamsuddin Altmas the king of Delhi invaded and

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conquered Gwalior and in 1235 led an expedition to Bhelsa and Ujjain where he fed himself with plenty of plunder and booty. He demolished the famous temple of Mahakala at Ujjain and returned to Delhi with many images, found in the temple, as also with a statue of Vikramaditya.

Depalpur, now in the Holkar State. was named after this king. Ashadhar, a Jain scholar of great repute flourished during his reign and compiled two famous works on Jainism named 'JINYAGYA KALPA AND TRISHRISHTHI SMRITI' at Nalakachhpur now known as Nalchha, 20 miles from Dhar. According to Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurishankarji Ojha, the death of this king occurred between 1292 and 1300 Vikram Samvat.

JAYATUNGIDEVA (1240-56)

Jayatungideva, son of Devapala, succeeded to the throne after his father. He is also known by the names of Jayasinha and Jaitramal. We have two inscriptions of his time, discovered at Rahatgarh and Attru (Kota State) respectively (Bhartiya Prachin Lipi Mala P. 182). Rai Bahadur Pt. Gaurishankarji Ojha in his 'Hindi History of Rajputana' observes that king Jaitrasingh of Mewar fought with this Parmar king at Arthuna in Banswara State. He died in 1314 Vikram era.

JAYAVARMA II, (1256-61)

Jayatungideva was succeeded by his younger brother Jayavarma II. We have one inscription and a grant of his time which date to 1314 and 1317 Vikram Samvats respectively, which mention the names of his two ministers Malavdhar and Maha Pradhan. (Ep: Ind: Vol: IX, Page 120-23).

JAYASINGH III.

Jayavarma was succeeded by Jayasingh III. We learn from the inscription of the time of Chauhan king Hamir of Ranathambhore, found in the well at Kawalji, a village in Kotah State, that Jaitrasingh, father of Hamir, harassed Jayasingh, the king of Mandu and defeated his army at Zampaitha and imprisoned them as war-captives at Ranthambhore. Prathwidhar, a Jain Vaishya, was the Prime Minister of Jaya Singhdeva. He was popularly known as Pethad Kumar. Many of his benevolent deeds have received their due praise in a Jain work that has been recently discovered. Prithwidhar was a Svetamber Jain. Being wealthy and at the same time well qualified, he had much influence with Jayasingh Deva. It would be no exaggeration to call him the King of his day without his royal insignia. Much money was spent by him over the construction of beautiful Jain temples all over the country and over arrangements which he made for charitable feeding of the poor. It is said that he had built 88 temples of the kind and that he could not rest satisfied till he had built the Toleganj temple with the assent of Hemadri alias Hemadpanth, the minister of the Yadava kingdom in Maharashtra.

ARJUN VARMA.

Arjunvarma was crowned as king after Jayasingh III. We learn from the above mentioned inscription at Kawalji in Kotah State, that the Chauhan king Hamir of Ranthambhore gave a signal defeat to Arjunvarma and forcibly took possession of his Malava kingdom. The said inscription is dated 1345 Vikram Samvat and Rai Bhadur Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha draws the conclusion that somewhere between 1339 and 1345, Hamir might have conquered a portion of Malwa adjoining Ranathambhore, the then capital

of Chauhan Kingdom. (History of Rajasthan P. 204).

BHOJ II .

After Jayasinghdeva III, Bhojdeva ascended the throne. He sustained a crushing defeat in Ajmer at the hands of Hamir, the Chauhan Prince of Ranthambore. It is evident from the perusal of the 18th Shloka of the 9th canto of the Hamir Mahakavya, that Bhoj must have been a mighty and learned Prince, ever ready to extend his helping hand to the poor; and that Dhar must have really flourished in his reign.

In the time of this King, Dhar and Mandu had the good fortune to welcome the venerable Maharshtra saints such as, Gyaneshwar, Namdeo, and others, who, have done some miracles at these places. It is also said that there still exists a place, Namadeo Mathi at Mandu.

Jayasinghdeva IV.

The Parmar rule ends with this king. It was in his time that the Muslims became the established rulers of Malwa. Ever since the time of Bhoja, Malwa was invaded, again & again, by Muslims. This resulted in breaking Malwa into good many petty states. About 1305 A. D. (Hijri 704) Ainulmulk, the commander of Allauddin Khilji's forces, had attacked Malwa and was met by a huge army of a thousand horse and a hundred thousand foot men. He easily won the day and subdued Ujjain, Dhar, Mandu and Chanderi. From this time onwards Muslim power rose in Malwa at the expense of the Parmars who completely faded away.

To sum up, Malwa remained under Parmar supremacy for about 500 years during which it saw 25 kings wielding the sceptre. This dynasty produced shining stars like Maharaj Bhoj and Maharaja Munj who made an unperishable mark in the glorious history of Indian culture and civiliza-

tion. Their extensive patronage to the poets and scholars is still remembered with venerable pride. Maharaja Bhoj was a more gifted ruler than Augustus. Considering all phases of activity and actual achievements Maharaja Bhoj is justly entitled to a higher place than all his contemporary crown heads of his time. To his patronage we owe the medieval revival of Indian literature and poetry. Of all Rulers of Medieval times Maharaja Bhoj stands as the ideal of the new India.

When the Parmar rule had reached its highest pinnacle of glory, their kingdom extended from Bhelsa in the East, to Gujerat in the West and from Mandsore in the North to Tapi or Godawari in the South.

The political divisions of the Parmar rule were known as Mandals and their officers as Mandaleshwars. The Mandals were divided into Perganas which in turn were further sub-divided into Pathaks (or the Thanas or Tappas of today). Every village had its headman Pattakil (Patil). The ministers or Dewans, who were chiefly Brahmins, were called Sandhivigrahiks (ministers of peace and war). Ujjain remained the capital of Parmar kingdom from the time of Sindhuraj to that of Bhoj; and afterwards the honour fell to Dhar, the much beloved city of Bhoj.

The king was addressed as "Parama Bhattarak Maharajadhirajeshwar". But Bhoj was addressed as "Malava Chakravarti" or "Dhareshwar". The eldest son generally succeeded to the kingdom after his father. The Parmar coins bear the images of an eagle mostly surmounted by serpent.

RELIGION OF PARMAR KINGS.

The Parmar kings were devout worshippers of Shiva, and their chief deities of worship were the Mahakal at Ujjaini and the Kalika at Dhar. They had no doubt great admiration for Jain religion, but they never

adopted it. Jainism having considerably spread in their times, the Parmars were often interested in the discourses and discussions of the Jain Pandits.

MIGRATION OF PARMARS INTO RAJPUTANA.

After the disruption of the Parmar Kingdom, one of its branches settled in the district of Ajmere. An inscription of this branch, dated 1532 Vikram era, (Rajputana Museum Ajmer report 1910-12 A.D. page 2 Line 27) has been found on the bank of the Peesagan tank, which says that Hamir was born in the same family which gave birth to Maharaja Munj and Bhoj. The name of Hamir's son was Harpal. Harpal's grandson was Raghunath Rao, popularly known as Raghava, whose queen, the daughter of Rathor Chief Durjanshal of Bahadmer, built the tank at Peeasgan. The name of Raghav's father was Mahpal or Mahappa who had joined hands with Chacha and Mera, the assassins of Maharana Mokal of Mewar. When Rao Ranamall put Chacha and Mera to sword, Mahappa fled to take refuge with the Sultan of Mandu. Later on he begged pardon of Maharana Kumbha and remained in his service. Mahappa had also a hand in the murder of Rao Ranamal.

Raghunathrao's son was Karamchand with whom Maharana Sanga lived during + his early days of trouble. Ramadevi, the Rani of Karamchand, built a tank in village Ramasar after her own name on the 5th of Ashwin of 1580 Vikram era. An inscription on this tank bears testimony to this. It is said that the village was first known as Ambasar and that it received its present name after the construction of the tank.

The Parmars of Bagad are the descendants of Dambarsingh, the second son of Vakpati Raj, the Parmar king of Malwa. It seems that the Chiefs of Bagad family ruled

+ At this time Maharana Sanga was an heir apparent to the throne.

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over Banswara and Dungarpur for a number of years. Many inscriptions of this family have been found, of which two contain the geneological trees of this family. According to the inscription of Chamunda Raj, dated 1236 Vikram Samvat, which was found at Arthuna, Dambarsingh, the founder of this family was the younger brother of Vairisingh I, the Raja of Malwa. Kankadeo, who was killed in the battle with the Raja of Karnatak, in the time of Maharaja Shreeharsha (Siyak) of Malwa, was also a descendant of this family.

In the inscription dated 1116 Vikram Samvat found at Panaheda, Dumbarsingh's name is missing. There the geneology begins with Dahnik and shows that Chacha was the son of Dhanik's brother. It further shows that Kankadeo was the son of Chachha and was killed in a battle with Khottigdev.

MALWA UNDER THE CHAUHAN KINGS.

When the Parmar kingdom of Malwa, was disrupting, some of the neighbouring powers taking advantage of the situation, established their suzerainty over some parts of Malwa.

According to Prithi Raj Vijay, a historical epic, Ajayraj the Chauhan king and the founder of the town of Ajmere, attacked and vanquished Salhana, king of Malwa. Ajayraj was a mighty king of great political influence. The Bijolia inscription says that Ajayraj captured Salhana in a battle, tied him to the back of a camel, and brought him to Ajmer. He is further stated to have killed three kings named Chachig, Sindhul and Yasoraja. A stone inscription found in the Adhai din ka jhonpra (अढ़ाई दिन का झोंपड़ा), Ajmer says that Ajayaraja conquered the country upto Ujjain. Again we find that Vyagraraj, the Chauhan king of Ajmere, held his sway over some provinces of Malwa.

The Delhi Siwalik Pillar inscription of A. D. 1164 says that he conquered the country between the Vindhya and the Himalaya Mountains and cleared the land of Aryavarta of the Musalmans making it true Aryavarta, the abode of the Aryas. These facts lead us to believe that some portion of Malwa must have remained under the mighty kings of Chauhan dynasty for a number of years.

RISE OF MOHAMMADAN POWER.

In the 6th century, a great religious movement arose in the deserts of Arabia under the leadership of the great Mohammad. He called himself "Prophet of God" and preached a new gospel to the Arabians. This Mohammad was a Bedouin leader, whose head quarter was at the little town of Medina in the Arabian desert. Until he was forty, he did very little to distinguish himself in the world. He seems to have taken lively interest in religious discussions. Mecca was a Pagan city at that time, worshipping, in particular, a black stone, the kaaba, of great repute throughout Arabia, and a centre of pilgrimages; but there were great number of Jews in the country, and there were Christian Churches in Syria. (A short History of Mankind by H. G. Wells. Page 96).

About forty, Mohammad began to develop a prophetic character. He talked first to his wife of the "One True God" and of the rewards and punishments of virtue and wickedness. There can be no doubt that his thoughts were very strongly influenced by Jewish and Christian ideas. He gathered about him a small circle of believers, and presently began to preach in the town against idolatry. This made him extremely unpopular with his fellow townsmen, because pilgrimage to the kaaba was the chief source of such prosperity as Mecca enjoyed. Mohammad became bolder and more definite in his teachings, declaring himself to be the last chosen prophet of God entrusted with a mission to perfect religion, and

calling upon all his believers to spread his teachings sword in hand.

Thus, suddenly, Bedouin of the Arabian desert flared out for a brief century of splendour. They spread their rule and language from Spain to the borders of China. They gave the world a new culture. They created a religion that is still to this day one of the most vital forces in the world.

Fired intensely with the religious zeal, the Arabs conquered Syria and hoisted their victorious flag over Persia and Egypt. The tide of their conquest poured from the North coast of Africa to the strait of Gibraltar. Spain was conquered as far as the Pyrenees (A. D. 720). Twelve years later, the Arabs had arrived at the heart of France; but there they were stopped for good (battle of poitiers, 732) and thrust back to the Pyrenees by the first of the new barbarian kingdom which organised itself, under the name of the Franks.

Similarly, several Mohammadan invasions were made on India and in about 1232 A. D. Shumsoo-dud-deen¹Altamush having reduced Gwalior, invaded Malwa, seized the fort of Bhelsa, and took the city of Ujjain, where he destroyed a magnificent temple dedicated to Mahakal, built after the design of the temple of Somnath. According to Farista, this temple is said to have taken three hundred years in building, and was surrounded by a wall one hundred cubits in height.

An image of Vikrama-ditya, a former king who was so renowned that the Hindus commenced an era from his death, as also an image of Mahakal, both carved in stone, and other images of brass, were found in the temple. These images Altmush caused to be conveyed to Delhi, and broke

¹ Altamush who ascended the throne of Delhi in 1210 A.D. was the greatest of the slave kings, and rose to eminence by sheer dint of merit, and it was solely by virtue of fitness that he superseded the hereditary claimants to the throne.

the same at the door of the great mosque (Briggs Farishta 1, page 211).

Altmush was followed by a succession of weak kings, during whose reigns (1236—1246) the Hindu chiefs were left much to themselves. In 1246 Nasiruddin succeeded. He was a weak ruler and his throne was usurped by his minister Balban, who proved to be a very strong man. He subdued several Hindu Rajas and made expeditions against Gwalior, Chanderi, Malwa and Narwar, which were all subdued, and immense booty was sieged. A Hindu Raja, Chahar Deo, who met him at the head of a large army, was defeated; and the victorious troops returned to Delhi in Rabi-ul-awwal 650 A. H. (May 1252 A. D.) (History of Medieval India by Ishwari Prasad. page 151—152).

On Balban's death the rule passed to the Khiljis under Jalal-ud-din, who (1292) entered Malwa and took Ujjain, and burnt temples and other Hindu buildings, and in the words of the historians, thus, "made a hell of paradise". While describing the invasion of Malwa by Jalal-ud-din, Farishta observes. "in the year 692 Hijri (1293 A. D.) the king marched against the Hindus in the neighbourhood of Mandu, and having devastated the country in that vicinity returned to Delhi. In the mean time, Mullik Alla-ud-din, the king's nephew, governor of Kurra, requested permission to attack the Hindus of Bhelsa, who infested his province. Having obtained leave, he marched in the same year to that place, which he subdued; and having pillaged the country, returned with much spoil, part of which was sent to the king. Among other things there were two brazen idols, which were thrown down before the Budaoon gate of Delhi, to be trodden under foot by all. Jalal-ud-din was much pleased with the success and conduct of his nephew in this expedition, for which he rewarded him with princely presents

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and annexed the province of Oudh to his former government of Kurra". (Briggs Farishta 1. I P. 303—304)

ALLAUDDIN & MALWA.

Allauddin succeeded to the throne in 1295 A. D. He was a very cruel and powerful ruler. He was destitute of all higher qualities and nobler sentiments that go to make a man noble and virtuous in the moral and spiritual walks of life. He devastated many beautiful provinces of India and was responsible for the inhuman slaughter of hundred of thousands of innocent persons. It is not within our scope to give here a detailed history of this king. We have simply to deal with his activities in Malwa. Farishta observes, "Ein-ul-mulk, a chieftain, was sent by Allauddin with an army to effect the conquest of Malwa. He was opposed by Koka (Goga), The Raja of Malwa, with 40,000 Rajput horse and 100,000 footmen. In the engagement which ensued, Ein-ul-Mulk proved victorious, and reduced the cities of Ujjain, Mandu, Dhara-Nagari and Chanderi. After these successes, he wrote an account of the same to the king, who, on receiving it, commanded illuminations to be made for seven days throughout the city of Delhi". (Briggs Farishta Vol. I P. 361).

No inscription has yet been found to furnish us with any information about Koka or Goga. We find his name only in the inscription found at Ranpur in Mewar, in which it is stated that Laxman Singh, Rana of Chittore, had defeated Gogdeo (Goga) king of Malwa. On the strength of this it can be said that Laxman Singh, Rana of Chittore, must have participated in some battle between Malwa and Mewar in favour of the latter country.

According to Tarikhe-Alai. "Mahalakdeo, the king of Malwa and his minister Koka (Goga) were very proud of their huge armies, which consisted of an infinitely strong

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infantry and some thirty to forty thousand cavalry. Ein-ul-Mulk was directed to march on Malwa. The selected army of Ein-ul-Mulk made a sudden attack on Malwa. Goga was beheaded and his head was presented to the Sultan. Ein-ul-Mulk was appointed the provincial officer of Malwa. Mahalakdeo, too, was killed in the battle of Mandu". (Eliots History of India, Vol: III, Page 76).

Abdulla Wassaff, the author of 'Tazi Atul Assar' writes "Some thirty years before the commencement of my book (699 H. E. 3357 V. E. 1300 A. D.) when the ruler of Malwa died, his son and his ministers became open enemies. This resulted in the division of Malwa between them. (The same P. 31). Very likely, this has some reference to Mahalakdeo and his minister Goga. Uptil this time Malwa was in the hands of Parmars, therefore, it is probable that Mahalakdeo was also a Parmar.

Rai Mahalakadeo of Malwa and Goga were completely defeated and killed and the cities of Mandu, Ujjain, Dhar and Chanderi were conquered. By the end of 1305 A. D. practically the whole of Northern India came into the hands of Allauddin, and the policy of Imperialism, of which he was the author and champion, gathered a fresh momentum with every new conquest and annexation. Col. Tod writes that Allauddin was so irresistible that Anhilwara, Dhar and Bvanti, Mandor and Deogir, the seats of Solankis, the Parmars the Parihars, and the entire Agnikul race were overturned by him. This great but cruel king breathed his last in January 1315 A. D. and was solemnly interred in a tomb in front of the Jama-Masjid.

GYASUDDIN TUGHLAK & MALWA.

Allauddin was followed by two weak rulers of Khilji dynasty, the last of whom was conquered and beheaded by Ghazi Mallik who ascended the throne of Delhi under the

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title of Gyasuddin Tughlak. He was a man of humble origin; his father was a Qurana Turk and his mother was a Jat woman of the Punjab. (Ibn Batuta Paris Edition III P. 201). He had risen to high position by dint of personal merit and during the reign of Allauddin, had played an important part in the wars against the Mongols, whom he had chased out of India again and again. When he assumed the reins of office, the Empire of Delhi was in a state of confusion and it was with a great tact firmness and prudence that Gyas restored order and re-established the moral prestige of the monarchy. The magnanimity of his nature showed itself in the generous treatment which he meted out to the relatives of Allauddin. Soon after his accession to the throne, he stationed troops on the Kabul frontiers and built forts to protect India from the incursions of the Moghuls, and thus effectually served his purpose, that it prevented his being troubled by these invaders during his reign. In the next year he sent an army, including the troops of Budaoon, Chanderi and Malwa, towards Tulingana under his eldest son. This fact indicates that Malwa remained under the direct Government of Gyasuddin.

MUHAMMAD TUGHLAK.

Gyasuddin Tughlak was succeeded by his son Mohammad Tughlak. According to Prof. Ishwari Prasad "he was unquestionably the ablest man among the crowned heads of the middle ages. Of all kings, who had sat upon the throne of Delhi since the Mohammanan conquest, he was undoubtedly the most learned and accomplished. Nature had endowed him with a marvellous memory, a keen and penetrating intellect and an enormous capacity for assimilating knowledge of all kinds. The versatility of his genius took by surprise all his contemporaries. A lover of the fine arts, a cultured scholar and an accomplished poet, he was

equally at home in logic, astronomy, mathematics and the physical sciences. His generosity was prodigal; and all contemporary writers are unanimous in extolling his lavish gift to the numerous suppliants who crowded his gate at all times. He was a strict Mohammadan, who rigidly practised and enforced the observances laid down in the Koran. He was inspired by the zeal of religious fanaticism so he was responsible for many tyrannical deeds. According to some historians, he was like all Medieval despots, subject to great paroxysms of rage and inflicted the most brutal punishments upon those who offended against his will, irrespective of the rank or order to which they belonged. He found pleasure in the destruction of human species and organised "man hunts". (Eliot Vol: III, Page 242).

Under him the empire had grown to large dimensions. Towards the North it embraced the Doab, the plains of the Punjab and Lahore with the territories stretching from the Indus to the coast of Gujerat; towards the East it comprised Bengal, and in the centre it included such principalities as Malwa, Ujjain, Mohoba and Dhar. (History of Medieval India by Ishwariprasad P. 2)

According to Farishta, Mohammad Tughlak conferred the government of Malwa on one Azeez, a person of low origin, formerly a wine-seller, who was told that the Amir Judida being considered dangerous subjects by the king, he must contrive some plan for their extirpation. (Briggs Farishta Vol. I, Page 433).

When Azeez arrived at Dhar, in Malwa, he invited the Amir Judida, or foreign chiefs, to an entertainment, and assassinated seventy of them with their attendants. He wrote to the king an account of his achievement and the latter sent him a present.

A great famine broke out (1344) in his reign. On his return from the Deccan he found in Malwa that the

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posts were all gone off the roads, and distress and anarchy reigned in all the country and towns along the route, while the anarchy was augmented by the dispatch of Aziz as governor of Malwa, who by his tyrannous actions soon drove all the people into rebellion, which, in the long run, proved fatal to the Tughlak kingdom in Malwa. Mohammad Tughlak breathed his last in 1351 A. D.

MALWA AFTER MOHAMMAD TUGHLAK.

The death of Mohammad Tughlak plunged the entire royal camp into confusion, and a feeling of despair seized the leaders of the army as well as the rank and file. Province after province separated itself from the empire. Ambitious chiefs and disloyal governors hoisted the flag of revolt, and defied the authority of the central power, which had become incapable of asserting itself. Getting advantage of this confused situation Dilawarkhan a descendant of Mohammad Ghorî and one of the fief-holders of Firoz Tughlak established his independance and made Dhar the capital of his kingdom. The detailed history of Dilawarkhan and his successors will be given in later chapter. We may only mention here that from Dilawarkhan Gori to Baj Bahadur, the kingdom of Malwa remained independent from Delhi.

MALWA AND SIKANDAR LODI

Sikandar Lodi succeeded the throne on 17th July 1489. In 1506 the king marched against Narwar, a strong fort in the province of Malwa, then in direct possession of a certain Hindu king. The prince, Julal Khan, the then governor of Kalpi, was directed to advance and invade the place. Julal Khan reached Narwar before the king reached. Farista says—"on the king's arrival at Narwar, Julal Khan drew up his army out of respect to receive him; but this

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created a distrust in the mind of Sikandar who resolved to ruin him. Prince Julal Khan was imprisoned on the bare suspicion that he maintained correspondence with the Hindu Prince of Narwar. The Hindu Prince fought desperately with the Moslem enemy and put to sword a large number of Moslem army but at last Narwar fell into the hands of Sikandar Lodi. Sikandar remained there for the period of six months, breaking the temples, and building mosques. He also established a college and appointed many learned men. It was at this period, that Shahabuddin, the son of sultan Nasiruddin, king of Malwa, being discontented with his father, proposed a conference with the king of Delhi. A meeting took place at Sipri where Sikandar Lodi promised him support, if he would make over Chanderi to him. (Briggs Farishta Vol. I page 581)

“In the year 1508, the king marched from Narwar but after proceeding some distance along the Sind river, he resolved to surround Narwar with another wall, which was ordered to be immediatly commenced”. (Briggs Farishta Vol. I, Page 582).

ANNEXATION OF CHANDERI.

Farishta says that Bohjut Khan, governor of Chanderi perceiving the imbecility of his master Sultan Mohammad, the king of Malwa, made overtures to place himself under the Delhi Government. Sikandar Lodi, accordingly deputed Imad ul-mulk to assist Bohjut Khan in his revolt. Soon after this, the king issued a proclamation announcing the acquisition of Chanderi to his dominions. Sikandar considered it desirable to effect some changes among the public officers of that province, so he directed Saiyad Khan Lodi, Sheikh Jumol Firmally and Rai Ugrasen Kachwaha, together with Khizr Khan and Khwaja Mahmud, to proceed to Chanderi and these officers succeeded in annexing the

district to the government of Delhi. Mohammad Khan, the prince of Malwa, although considered ostensibly the chief of Chanderi, was, in fact, dispossessed of all authority, and confined to the city, while the supremacy of Bohjut Khan, the Malwa governor, being usurped by the Delhi officers, he left his government and came to court. At this time, the king had some reasons to suspect the conduct of Hussain Khan Firmally, Naib of Saharun, and he sent as his representative Haji Sarung with some troops to that quarter, with orders to gain over the Naib's troops, and to seize his person. Hussain Khan came to know the king's intentions; and contriving his escape, sought refuge under Allauddin Shah Purbya, king of Bengal.

BABAR IN MALWA.

While the Pathan power in India was tottering, there appeared in Kabul a man of extraordinary abilities and character, who was destined to found one of the greatest Empires of medieval times. That man was Zahiruddin Muhammad Babar. Babar was born in the purple and belonged to a family which had ruled in Central Asia. In 1519 A. D. Babar invaded a part of the Punjab and in 1520 he again entered the Punjab and advanced as far as Si lkot, when he was recalled due to an invasion on Kabul. He now resolved to take and incorporate Kandhar with his dominions, preliminary to his invasion of India. He besieged Kandhar, which was ably defended by its ruler, Shah Beg. In A. D. 1522, however, it was finally surrendered to him.

At the time when Babar was intending to conquer India, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was on the throne of Delhi. Ibrahim's cruelty filled his reign with rebellions by the nobles of the kingdom. The Sultan possessed neither the tact to control them, nor the ability to crush them. At length,

Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of Lahore, invited Babar, the king of Kabul, to take possession of Hindusthan. Babar had ere this made unsuccessful attempts to take the Punjab. He says in his autobiography that Maharana Sanga had also sent him a message to the effect that should he (Babar) advance and take Delhi, he (Sanga) would take Agra from the Lodi king. Finding the circumstances favourable, Babar left Kabul, took a part of the Punjab and advanced towards Delhi. Circumstances, however, soon afterwards obliged him to return to Kabul.

In the meantime the dissensions in the Afghan kingdom of Delhi increased and Prince Allauddin, known as Alam Khan, the uncle of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, repaired to Kabul and induced Babar to help him to occupy the throne of Delhi, promising him in lieu of his assistance, the whole of the Punjab. Alam Khan returned to India and aided by Babar's generals in the Punjab, advanced towards Delhi, but was defeated and put to flight by Sultan Ibrahim. Babar, however, seeing the time favourable for his designs, as Hindustan was torn asunder by hopeless dissensions and rivalries, crossed the Indus with only 12,000 men, which swelled to about seventy thousand when he came face to face with the Sultan of Delhi on the celebrated field of Panipat, where the sovereignty of Hindustan has been so often lost and won. After waiting for a few days, during which intrigue was idle, Babar made dispositions for a battle, which took place on 29th April 1526 A.D. The Delhi army was defeated and the Sultan lost his life. A week after this Babar was crowned and the *KIUTBA* was read in his name.

There were still formidable foes to overcome. The Rajputs had mustered a great array under Rana Sanga of Chittor. Eighty thousand horse-men had gathered to his standard, and were marching upon Agra. Babar moved out

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to meet them and pitched his camp at Sikri, afterwards known as Fathepur Sikri in memory of his victory. A division sent out in advance, was routed with heavy loss by the Rajputs. In this crisis Babar broke his wine cups, vowing to drink no more, and addressed a rousing appeal to his dejected soldiers. Taking advantage of the fresh courage he had inspired, he left his entrenchment and advanced boldly to meet the Rajputs. The battle was fought in March 1527, at Kanvaha. The issue hung long in doubt, till Babar sent out his flanking parties of horse, and the Rajputs, hemmed on all sides, lost hope and gave way. Maharana Sanga was severely wounded and retired from the field.

BABAR AND MALWA.

Babar (1526—30) observes in his memoirs that Malwa was then the fourth most important kingdom of Hindustan (Being a part of Gujerat under Bahadur Shah) though Rana Sanga of Udaipur had seized many of the provinces that formerly belonged to it. Babar's forces took Gwalior in 1526 and Chanderi in 1527. Babar, thus, writes in his memoirs about the then political condition of Malwa.

"The fourth king was Sultan Mahmud, who reigned in the country of Malwa, which they likewise called Mandu. This dynasty was called Khilji. Rana Sanga, a pagan, had defeated them and occupied a number of their provinces. This dynasty also had become weak. Their ancestors, too, had been originally brought forward and patronised by Sultan Firoz Shah, after whose demise they occupied the kingdom of Malwa". (Tuzaki Babari, Elliot's History Vol. IV, Page 260).

"The five kings who had been mentioned are great princes, and are all Musalmans, and possessed of formidable armies. The most powerful of the Hindu princes, in point of territory and army, is the Raja of Bijanagar. Another is

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Rana Sanga, who has attained his present high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chittor. During the confusion that prevailed among princes of the kingdom of Mandu, he seized a number of provinces which had depended on Mandu, such as Rantpur (Ranthambore), Sarangpur, Bhilsa and Chanderi. In the year 934 by the divine favour, in the space of a few hours, I took Chanderi, by storm which was commanded by Maidani Rai, one of the highest and most distinguished of Rana Sanga's officers, and put all the Pagans to the sword".

"There were a number of other Rais and Rajas on the borders and within the territory of Hindustan; many of whom, on account of their remoteness, or the difficulty of access into their country, have never submitted to the Musalman kings." (Tuzak-I-Babari, Elliot's History Vol. VV P. 261—62)

Ahmad Yadgar, the historian of the court of Sur kings, writes in his 'Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana'—"When the royal affairs had been well and firmly established, and the mandates of the king (Babar) had spread over land and sea like running water, the Raja of Chanderi rebelled. Arghun Khan, who was in that province, attacked him. The Raja, however, plundered on the road, the money which was being sent to the royal treasury. The Ruler of the Universe sent Arghun Khan's brother and Ahmed Sultan against him with a strong force. The Chanderi Raja, being puffed up with vanity on account of the defeat which Arghun Khan had sustained, came out of Chanderi with an army of Hindus, and a battle took place near a village called Padahar, in which he likewise defeated Arghun Khan's brother, together with his troops, and returned victorious to Chanderi. After this misfortune, Amir Khalifa received orders to prepare all the royal equipage. When it

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was ready, His Majesty left Agra with great pomp and show and marched steadily in that direction, having previously despatched Amir Hindu Beg with 6000 gallant horsemen. Aliwardi Khan-Shamlu, who was then in Malwa, received instructions to join Amir Hindu Beg, for the purpose of destroying that infidel. The Raja of Chanderi, being very proud of his success, collected his adherents from all quarters, and appointed his nephew to oppose those two valiant and warlike chieftains. A battle was fought between them on the banks of the river Jumna. In the first attack, the Hindus behaved with such extreme valour, that many of the men of the army of the king of the world became martyrs. When the two Amirs saw that their soldiers were terrified at the Hindus, they retreated and took refuge in a garden and the nephew of Shahrak retired to a garden two *Kos* distant. When the king was told of the defeat of those two Amirs, he marched towards the enemy. On the Amirs being informed of the king's arrival, they divided their forces in to two on a very dark night, darker than the heart of an oppressor, fell on the infidels, and took their revenge. They killed most of the evil-doers, and made prisoners of the remainder; and so much plunder was taken from that heathen army that the king's troops obtained sufficient to support them for years. His Majesty marched on towards Chanderi. But when the Raja heard of the defeat of his brother, he was confounded, because that profligate wretch was a great warrior. Not knowing what else to do, he assembled a body of men, and came to fight the Sultan. He did not know how difficult it is for a gnat to keep its feet when a cold boisterous wind is blowing, or for a sparrow to fly against a hawk. In the very first onset, that dark faced man was overthrown, and his army slaughtered. When the chiefs of the Raja had been trampled on by elephants, His Majesty encamped near Chanderi with

much pomp. The warriors of his vanguard, having already taken the fort, made captives of the connections and family of the Raja, and despatched them to the foot of the royal throne. His Majesty presented two of the daughters of the Raja, whose beauty was unrivalled, who had never been exposed to the view of man, or to the hot winds, one to Mirza Kamran, the other to Prince Mohammad Humayun, and gave the others to the Sardars of his army. After which he spent two months in that space, in country excursions and hunting, and then returned to Agra." (Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana P. 38-39).

HUMAYUN AND SHERSHAN IN MALWA.

Humayun succeeded his father to the throne in 1530 A. D. He set out against Bahadur Shah of Gujerat in 1535 A. D. He took the Kalpi road, and marching by way of Chanderi and Raisin reached Ujjain at the end of February. He refused to attack Bahadur while the latter was involved in the Siege of Chitor, as that would have been disturbing a brother Muslim when engaged in subduing a Hindu Raja. (Humayun Nama).

After having captured Chitor, Bahadur Shah marched Southwards, and the two monarchs met near Mand-sore, a city in Western Malwa. A desperate battle was fought and Humayun was crowned with glorious victory. The king of Gujerat though a clever statesman, was no good a soldier and being led away by the advice of his commander of artillery, Rumi Khan, entrenched himself in a fortified camp without attacking the imperial army. Thus he committed a great blunder from the military point of view and this brought about his utter ruin. The Moghul archers cut off supplies from his camp and made his position untenable. After nearly two months Bahadur Shah, one night, fled away from his camp attended by a small body of troops.

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His huge army melted away and his artillery fell into the hands of the Moghuls. Bahadur Shah took shelter in the fort of Mandu which was also besieged by Humayun. Humayun captured the fort and his troops entered into it. Bahadur Shah again managed to escape from the fort and made his way to Champaner. Soon after this some of the nobles and military officers of Bahadur Shah surrendered to Humayun.

Nizam-ud-din, the author of *Tabakat-i-Akbari* gives a vivid and beautiful description of the battle between Humayun and Bahadur Shah fought at Mandasore.

“For two months the two armies remained confronting each other. Frequently during the day brave men desirous of fame sallied out in search of adventures, but the Moghul soldiers seldom ventured within range of guns and rockets. Then the emperor posted his troops around the position of the enemy, to cut off his supplies of grain and fodder and fuel. These dispositions caused a famine to ensue in the enemy’s camp. Grain was not to be procured, the grass all round was consumed, and the imperfectly armed Gujratis, through fear of the arrows dared not venture far from the camp. The horses and animals and many men perished from want, and the army was dismounted. When Sultan Bahadur perceived that if he remained longer he would be taken prisoner, he went off by the rear of his pavilion, and fled towards Mandu with five of his most trusty adherents, one of whom was the governor of Burhanpur, and the other was Kadir Shah, governor of Malwa. When his men heard of his escape, they took to flight.”

“On the emperor’s being informed of the flight of his enemy, he mounted and went off in pursuit. Having come up with sardr Khan, who was retreating with a body of men towards Mandu, he made an attack upon him, thinking that it was Sultan Bahadur himself. He had not with him

more than 3000 men, for the rest were engaged in plundering. Many of the Gujratis were slain. His Majesty hastened on to Mandu, and Sultan Bahadur was besieged in the fort. The siege was carried on for some days, till one night a party of the royal army scaled the walls and got into the fort. Sultan Bahadur was asleep when the alarm was raised. A general panic followed and the Gujratis took to flight. Sultan Bahadur made off with five or six horsemen towards Gujrat and Sadr Khan and Sultan Alam (Lodi) threw themselves into the fort of Songarh which is the citadel of Mandu. Next day they came out, and were conducted to the presence of the emperor. They were both wounded. Sadr Khan was placed in confinement, and an order was given for cutting off the foot of Sultan Alam." (*Tabakat-i-Akbari* Elliot History Vol: V. Page 191—192).

Bahadur Shah fled successively from Mandu Champamer, Cambay and Diu, closely pursued by Humayun as far as Cambay. Humayun showed a good deal of personal daring in climbing the wall of Champaner by driving pegs into it, in a nocturnal surprise of that fortress (first week of Safar 942 A. H. August 1535). After the rainy season, Humayun resumed his work of conquest and took possession of Ahemdabad and Pattan. He would have marched upon Diu, but for the arrival of the news that Mallu Khan, Bahadur Shah's Governor of Malwa had broken into Malwa.

Having appointed his brother, Mirza Askari to the viceroyalty of Gujrat, he marched Southwards. On his way he took possession of Baroda, Broach, Surat and Burhanpur. Thence, he reached Mandu about the beginning of March 1536. He stopped there to enjoy the genial climate of Malwa, dreaming to make Mandu his capital (*Akbar Nama*). Humayun's power and fortune reached their zenith at this time. But a few months after-

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wards, his brother Mirza Askari rebelled and leaving the new conquests to their fate, hastened towards Agra to seize the vacant capital. At this news, Humayun set out for Agra by way of Chitor and overtook the rebels by forced marches. He forgave them and pursued his journey to Agra. No sooner did the Moghuls turn their back upon Malwa and Gujrat then Bahadur Shah and his adherents Mallu Khan and Miran Mohammad Faraqni, ruler of Khandesh issued from the retreat and re-occupied those provinces. Soon after this, Bahadur Shah, while returning from a visit to the Portugese Governor of Goa was drowned in the sea (1537).

After the death of Bahadur Shah, Gujrat and Malwa fell into a state of confusion and anarchy. At this time, taking advantage of this confusion and disorder, one Mallu Khan, bin-Mallu Khan, a noble of Sultan Mohammad Khilji II took possession of Mandu, Ujjain, Sarangpur and set himself up as an independent ruler under the title of Qadir Shah. Nizamuddin says, " When His Majesty Jannat Ashyani with the intention of rooting out the evil (Sher Khan) marched from agra towards the country of Bengal, Mallu Khan, having assumed the title of Qadir Shah took possession of the tract of country from the town of Bhilsa to the Narmada river and divided it among his nobles. Bhupat and Puran Mal, the sons of Silhady, came from Chitor and seized Raisin and the territories in its neighbourhood. Day by day the power of Qadir Shah began to increase, and the Zamindars of the surrounding country began to send presents to him as the sign of their submission. (Tabakati-Akbari Persian Text P. 591). It was about this time that he received from Sher Shah, the then king of Bengal, a letter written in the form of an order, requiring him to co-operate against the king of Delhi. Khadar Shah was so incensed at receiving a docu-

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ment of this kind that he sent a reply written in similar form. When Sher Shah received the answer, he tore off the seal and putting it on the point of his sword said, "God willing, if I ever meet with Khadar Shah, I will put him in mind of his impertinence in putting his seal on the face of a letter to my address". Consequently when that monarch (Sher Shah) ascended the throne of Delhi he marched against Malwa in 1545.

The motive of Sher Shah in his contemplated conquest of Malwa is represented by all the Persian authorities as the feeling of his personal revenge. Abbas, the well-known Persian Historian says, "Sher Shah led an army to wreak vengeance on the ruler of Mandu against whom he bore an ancient grudge. Other historians like Nizamuddin and Farishta share the same opinion. However, Sher Shah set out on his expedition against Malwa in the beginning of Moharrum A. H. 949 (April 17, 1542). As soon as he reached Gwalior, Abdul Qasim Beg came to pay his respects and handed over the keys of the fort. From Gwalior Sher Shah marched in a South-westerly direction to strike at Sarangpur one of the most important cities in the possession of Mallu Khan. He seems to have encountered no resistance from any quarter during his march through the country; at all events, our Persian authorities are silent about it. None of Mallu Khan's nobles nor any Zamindars who are said to have been partisans of Mallu Khan, seem to have stood by him in his distress. Abbas says that when Sher Shah reached Gagraon, Puran Mal of Raisin came there in the company of Shujaat Khan with an escort of 6000 Rajputs, to wait upon him. Sher Shah is said to have bestowed 100 horses and 100 splendid dresses of honour on Puran Mal and allowed him to return, leaving his younger brother, whose name was Chatur Bhuj to serve the king. (Abbas in Eliot, IV, 392).

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After conciliating the Rajputs, Sher Shah resumed his march and advanced for Sarangpur. Kadir Shah became all the more terrified and despondent, at the recollection of the indignity which he had offered by sending of a Farman with a seal at the top some days before. At the advice of one of his trusted servants, Kadir Shah went to Sarangpur to pay his homage to the emperor. (Tabakati-Akbari P. 591). Sher Shah received Kadir Shah most graciously, exalted him by the bestowal of princely gifts and honours and soothed him by showing greater and greater kindness. He ordered that the royal guest should be given a scarlet tent and entertained with hospitality befitting his rank (Ms Abbas Page 209). Kadir Shah was also given an excellent bedstead, sleeping garments and beddings (Farishta Book VI, P. 270). (Nizamuddin Page 592). Having halted one day at Sarangpur Sher Shah started for Ujjain, the Capital of Kadir Shah.

In the way Sher Shah communicated some of the early events of his life to Kadir Shah who was riding with him. He told him how he had laboured hard in his youth, and went every day on foot fifteen KOS in pursuit of game, armed with his bow and arrows. On one of these excursions, he fell in with a party of thieves and highwaymen. He associated with them for some time, plundering the country all round, till one day, when seated in a boat with his new comrades he was pursued "by his enemies", who after a conflict were completely victorious. Upon this, placing his bow and arrows on his head, he plunged into the water, and after swimming for three KOS escaped with his life, and from that period abounded his new profession (The Wakiati Mushtaki Ms Page 103).

Thus Malwa was apparently subjugated by Sher Shah without shedding a drop of blood. The chiefs of Malwa

voluntarily submitted to him in the hope that the new conqueror, like Bahadur Shah, would not disturb them in their old possessions but be content with receiving their allegiance. But Sher Shah, a few days after his arrival at Ujjain, issued a Farman to the effect that His Majesty had been pleased to confer the Sarkar of Lakshanwati (Bengal) in exchange of the kingdom of Malwa upon Qadir Shah, and that he should forth with send his family and dependents to Lakshanwati while he himself should be in attendance upon the Emperor. At this time the government of the kingdom of Malwa was bestowed upon Shujaat Khan. (See Nizamuddin, Persian Text P. 592). Sher Shah, covetous of the kingdom of Mandu, did this, contrary to the expectation of Kadir Shah (Farishta Book II, P. 271).

It was indeed a surprise not only to Kadir Shah alias Mallu Khan but to the other chiefs of Malwa. The real character and the motive of the new conqueror were unpleasantly revealed to them: Kadir Shah regarded the assignment of a fief in Bengal as a sentence of perpetual exile and imprisonment. He brought his family and dependents out of Ujjain and encamped in a garden intervening between the city and the camp of Sher Shah, ostensibly for sending them to his new fief but really for making his escape. Sher Shah perceived his intention and ordered Shujaat Khan to arrest him. Shujaat Khan looked towards Kadir Shah alias Mallu Khan, who, being an intelligent man, understood what was going on and said to Shujaat Khan; "Tell the king that I have no carriage to take my family to Kalpi". When Shujaat Khan represented this, it was ordered that 100 camels and 100 mules with camelmen and mulemen, and several carts with drivers, should be given to Mallu Khan for the conveyance of his family. When he received the camels, mules and carriages, he took them, together with their drivers, to his

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own encampment, and gave them some very powerful wine, so that they got drunk and became insensible. Mallu Khan, taking his treasures and his family absconded. At day dawn it became known that Mallu Khan had fled. Sher Shah said, "Mallu khan, the slave! Have you seen what a trick he has played me?" Sher Shah was angry with Shujaat Khan, and sent him in pursuit of Mallu Khan, saying, "Wherever Mallu Khan may go, you go also and bring him to me. Did I not tell you to arrest him? But you did not, and acted negligently". (Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi Elliot History Vol:IV, Page 394).

Accordingly, Shujaat Khan went in pursuit of Kadir Shah (Mallu Khan) but failed in his attempt to capture him. Kadir Shah reached the Sultan of Gujrat who gave him shelter. Shujaat Khan, being unsuccessful in his mission repaired to Mandu. Sher Shah ordered the Jagir of Shujaat Khan to be confiscated. He appointed Haji Khan and Junial Khan, Fojdars of Mandu, and stationed them at Dhar on the frontier of Gujrat with 12,000 troops. Abbas says that he gave Ujjain to Dariya Khan Gujrati and Sarangpur to Alam Khan Lodi. These two nobles were fugitives from the court of Sultan Muhammad, the king of Gujerat. The story of the flight of these two Gujrati nobles is given in Mirat-i-Sikandari Persian Text P. 266 & 287.

It is rather doubtful whether they were given Jagirs in Malwa as no other historian mentions this. Abbas also says later on that Ujjain and Sarangpnr were bestowed upon Shujaat Khan only a few months after. (Eliot History Vol. Iv. Page 398).

However, after settling the affairs of Malwa Sher Shah marched towards the fort of Rantambhore. Taking advantage of the departure of Sher Shah, Kadir Shah returned with a large force and attacked Dhar. Haji Khan, the

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Jagirdar of Dhar, informed Shujaat Khan of the impending invasion. Shujaat Khan immediately proceeded to Dhar and made a desperate attack on Kadir Shah and completely defeated him. Kadir fled to Gujrat. (Farista Vol. II, Page 271 Nizamuddin Page 593). When Sher Shah heard the news of these victories and the devoted services of Shujaat Khan and Haji Khan, he gave them suitable rewards. According to some historians, after some days of this victory, Shujaat Khan was given the governorship of the whole country of Mandu, bestowing upon him a Mansab of 12,000 horses. Sher Shah issued his coins in Ujjain in 949 A. H. which is a fact of great historical importance.

Sher Shah was succeeded by Salim Shah and during his reign Shujjaat Khan was once more forced to leave Malwa, but was eventually pardoned by Salim and reinstated in his Government. He died in 1554 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Malik Baza Zeed who assumed the title of Baz Bahadur.

Farishta says, "among the public works which do credit to Shujaat's memory is the town of Shujaalpur near the city of Ujjain, independent of which are many other memorials of his reign in different parts of Malwa". So far as is known, none of the ruins of Mandu are connected with this chief.

AKBAR & MALWA

AKBAR the great Moghul Emperor of India and Baz Bahadur the king of Mandu were contemporary personalities. Both of them ascended their respective thrones of Delhi and Mandu in the year 1612. Akbar was destined to be of one the greatest Emperors of India while Baz Bahadur was not even fated to enjoy the suzerainty of the kingdom of Malwa. Baz Bahadur fell in love with a young and beautiful damsel Rupmati. We shall give a full

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description of Rupmati later under the heading of Sultans of Mandu. So much so that he ignored even the urgent affairs of the State. When Akbar heard of the disturbed condition of Malwa under Baz Bahadur, he made up his mind to conquer it. The author of 'Tabakat-i-Akbari', while describing the then condition of Malwa, narrates, "It came to His Majesty's knowledge that Baz Bahadur had given himself up to sensuality and cared nothing for the country. Tyrannical and overbearing men had consequently oppressed the poor and helpless, and the peasantry and people had been reduced to distress. The honour of the Imperial throne required that this country should be again brought under its control and find peace and security. So Adham Khan Pir Mohammad Khan, Abdulla Khan Uzbek, Shah Mohammad Kandhari, and some other Amirs, were nominated to effect the conquest of that country. They accordingly marched thither and when they came within ten KOS of Sarangpur, Baz Bahadur awoke from his slumber of neglect, and took up a position, which he fortified, two KOS from the city."

"Baz Bahadur was the most accomplished man of his day in the science of music and in Hindi song. He spent much of his time in the society of singers and musicians. When the Imperial Army was at ten KOS from Sarangpur, Adham Khan sent forward an advanced force to the entrenchment which Baz Bahadur had thrown up around his army. Several attempts were made to entice him out of his lines, and the royal forces drew together in order to surround him. Baz Bahadur then threw off his apathy and marched out to give battle. But the Afghan nobles in his army were disaffected, and made their escape, and he himself was obliged to take flight. Rupmati, his favourite wife, who used to recite poetry, several other wives, and all his treasure fell into the hands of Imperial forces. As the

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fugitives were making off, a eunuch of Baz Bahadur, wounded Rup Mati with a sword to prevent her falling into the hands of strangers; and when Adham Khan summoned her to his presence, she took poison and killed herself." (Elliot History Page 270).

Adham Khan wrote an account of this victory to the Emperor and made provisions for the government of Malwa and distributed the spoils among his followers, reserving for himself the treasury and the royal ensigns and the ladies of the harem of Baz Bahadur. He sent nothing but a few elephants to the emperor Akbar, who on suspecting that Adham Khan intended to render himself independent, marched towards Malwa (Farihshta Vol; II, Page 206). When he reached the fort of Gagron, which was celebrated among the fortresses of Malwa for its strength and height, he gave orders for its reduction. But the Commandant of the fort hastened to surrender, and presented his tribute. This greatly pleased the Emperor, who made a forced march in the night, and arrived by dawn in the vicinity of Sarangpur. Adham Khan had left Sarangpur in order to besiege Gagron, so he met the Emperor at three KOS distance from that place and was graciously received. Then they rode on to the city, and Adham Khan's abode was given up to His Majesty. Adham Khan now collected all his spoils, and presented to the Emperor, who stayed a few days to refresh and enjoy himself".

'At that place Pir Mohammad Khan Shirwani and other nobles who had jagirs in Malwa, waited upon the Emperor. They were honoured with gifts of robes and horses and were then sent back to their Jagirs. When the Emperor was near Narwar, a formidable tigress came out of the jungle. The Emperor slowly approached the beast, and with one blow of his sword brought her to the ground.

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Some of his attendants killed the young ones with swords and spears'. (Tabakat-i-Akbari).

"About this time Pir Mohammad Khan, who, after the departure of Adham Khan, held the Government of Malwa, assembled the forces of that province and marched to subdue the countries of Asir and Burhanpur. He laid siege to Bijaygarh, the principal of all the fortresses of that country, which he took by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. He then marched against Asir, a well-known place in Khandesh. Crossing the river Narbada, he laid many of the towns and villages to sword and destruction, and came to Burhanpur. That city also he took by storm, and gave orders for a general massacre. Many of the learned men and Saiyads of the place he caused to be decapitated in his presence. The governor of Asir and Burhanpur, and Baz Bahadur, who lived in this vicinity since his flight from Malwa, now concerted together, and, assisted by all the Zamindars of the country, assembled the forces with which they assailed Pir Mohammad Khan. Unable to resist, Pir Mohammad fled towards Mandu, and when he came to the Narbada, he, with all his nobles, plunged into its waters. It so happened that a camel came up and bit the horse upon which he was riding. He was thrown off into the water and drowned. The other nobles, on reaching Malwa, found that the country was lost, so they pursued their course to the court of the Emperor. Baz Bahadur pursued them and brought the whole of Malwa once more under his subjection. The Amirs, who had abandoned Malwa, and had come to the court without orders, were imprisoned for a time, and then set at liberty". (Tabakat-i-Akbari Eliots' History Page 275-76).

"The Emperor's anger was roused, and he gave orders for a force to be sent to arrest *Abdulla's* progress. The

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Emperor himself followed, and on reaching Mandu, intelligence arrived that his advanced force was engaged in action with Abdulla. So he passed on with all speed. When Abdulla saw that some of his most faithful followers had fallen, and heard that the Emperor was near at hand, he left his baggage and soldiers and hastened off. The imperial forces pursued him as far as the country of Ali, on the confines of Gujerat, and drove him away from his wives and elephants. He then went to Changez Khan in Gujerat. This Changez Khan was a slave of Sultan Mahmud of Gujerat, after whose death he had obtained the government of the country. The royal forces, which had captured the horses and elephants and wives of Abdulla, then turned back to Ali, where they were received with honour."

"Shortly afterwards the Imperial army moved and reached Mandu. The Zamindars of the neighbourhood came in to pay their homage and met with a gracious reception. Miran Mubarak Shah, ruler of Khandesh, sent a letter and suitable presents by the hands of ambassadors to the Emperor. After some days, the ambassadors received permission to return, and a Farman was sent to Miran Mubarak Shah directing him to send any one of his daughters whom he thought worthy to attend upon the Emperor. When Mubarak Shah received this gracious communication, he was greatly delighted and sent his daughter with a suitable retinue and paraphernalia to His Majesty, esteeming it a great favour to be allowed to do so. Whilst the Emperor remained at Mandu, Khan Kuli, a servant of Abdulla Khan, who was now in Hindia, and Mukarrab Khan, one of the nobles of the Deccan in compliance with the royal command, came in with their followers, and had an audience. Mukim Khan, who had exhibited vigour and ability in this expedition, received the title of Shuja Khan."

"In Muharram 972 (August, 1564), the Imperial camp

moved from Mandu, and was pitched in sight of the town of Nalcha, Karra, Bahadur Khan was appointed governor of Mandu, and an order was issued directing a party of the Imperial followers, who remained behind in Mandu to stay in that province along with Karra Bahadur, and zealously serve His Majesty. Two days after, the camp moved towards Agra, and upon reaching Ujjain, it remained there for four days, in consequence of heavy rain. In four days' march from thence, it reached Sarangpur, and in a week afterward it arrived at the Pargana of Kherar, within sight of the town. By regular stages it reached Sipri. Here the scouts brought in news of a herd of elephants, in which there was one very large animal. The royal servants went in chase of them, and captured the whole of them. Proceeding by way of Narwar and Gwalior, the Emperor reached Agra on the 3rd Rabi-ul-awwal. In the course of this year the Emperess gave birth to twins, one of whom was named Hasan, the other Husain; but they lived only a month and died."

"After a stay of some months at Agra, the Emperor resolved to attack the fort of Ranthambhore, which was renowned as one of the strongest and highest fortresses of Hindusthan. Ashraf Khan, Mir Munshi, and Saddik Khan were sent on this service with a large portion of the Imperial army. When these Amirs had marched several stages, intelligence reached the Emperor of disturbances created by the sons of Mohammad Sultan Mirza, who had escaped from the hands of Changez Khan, in Gujrat, and had laid siege to the fort of Ujjain, in Malwa. The Emperor then directed that Kali Khan, with the Amirs and the army that had been sent to Ranthambhore, should undertake the repression of the revolt of the Mirjas."

"The two forces united according to the order. On approaching Sironj, Shahabuddin, the governor of that place, came forth to meet them. He joined them and marched on

with them. When they encamped at Sarangpur, Shah Bidagh Khan joined them with his forces. The army had now grown very large. The Mirjas were afraid of its approach and they raised the siege of Ujjain, and went off towards Mandu. Mohammad Murad Khan and Mirza Azizulla, who had been besieged in Ujjain, being thus released, came out and joined the Amirs. All marched together in pursuit of the Mirza, who fled before them from Mandu to the banks of the Narbada. They crossed this river in such confusion that many of their men were drowned. (Tabakat-i-Akbari Page 330)."

The festivals of the Nau-roz and of the Emperor's accession were celebrated in the Pargana of Depalpur, (now in Holkar State) (Tabakat-i-Akbari) a dependency of Malwa. The Emperor devoted his attention to measures for increasing the prosperity of this country, and the raiyats waited upon him in parties, and made statements of their circumstances. He paid the kindest attention to every one's case, and made a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of the province. Many Zamindars became submissive and obedient to his will.

JEHANGIR.

Jehangir succeeded the great Moghul Emperor Akbar. After twelve years of his accession, Jehangir visited Mandu. In his diary he describes the then condition of Malwa as follows:—

"On Monday, the 23rd of Ispandad, the last month of the Persian year, when one quarter of the day had passed, I mounted my elephant, and, in good fortune and under kindly influences, made my happy entry into the fort of Mandu. About an hour (three ghadis) later, I entered the quarters which had been prepared to receive me. During my passage across the hill top, I scattered Rs. 15,000. Before

my arrival, Abdul Karim, the engineer, had been sent by me to repair the buildings of the former kings of Mandu. While my fortunate standards were at Ajmere, Abdul Karim repaired such of the old Mandu buildings as were fit to be repaired, and built others anew. On the whole, he had provided quarters for me, the like of which have probably never been built in any other place. Three lakhs of rupees were spent on these repairs and buildings. I wish it had been possible to construct buildings like these in all cities likely to be visited by royalty."

"This fortress", he continues, "stands on the top of a hill about thirty-six miles (18 KOS) in circumference. People say that before the days of Raja Bikramjit, a king was reigning over these parts, whose name was Jaisingh Deva. In his time, a man went to the forest to cut grass. When he brought the grass back, he found that the blade of his sickle had turned yellow. The grass-cutter in his surprise went to Mandan, an Iron-Smith. Mandanu knew that the sickle was gold. He had heard that in those parts was to be found the philosopher's stone, whose touch turns iron and copper into gold. He told the grass-cutter to lead him to the place where the sickle had turned yellow, and there he found the philosopher's stone. The smith presented this treasure to his king. The king amassed untold wealth, part of which he spent in building Mandu fortress which he completed in twelve years. At the request of the Smith, on most of the stones in the walls, a mark was cut in the form of an anvil. Towards the close of his life, when king Jaisingh Deva withdrew his heart from the world, he called many Brahmins together on the bank of the Narbada close to Mandu. He gave his Brahmin a share of his wealth, and to the Brahmin, in whom he had the greatest faith, he gave the philosopher's stone. Enraged at the gift of a paltry stone, the Brahmin threw it into the Narbada, and there the philosopher's stone

still lies. The Emperor continues; "on the 20th of Farwardan, five weeks after my arrival (11th April, 1617), in reward for his services in repairing the buildings of Mandu, I conferred on my engineer Abdul Karim, the command of twelve thousand horses with the title of Maamur Khan."

The sporting instincts of the Emperor were fully gratified and, numerous entries regarding his shooting expeditions are found in his diary.

"On the fourth of the first month of Farwarda (16th March), the watchman of the chase brought word that they had marked down a lion near the Saugar lake, which is a construction of the ancient rulers of Mandu. I mounted and proceeded towards the lake. When the lion broke cover, he attacked and wounded ten or twelve of the Ahattis and other men of my retinue. In the end, I brought him down with three gun shots and saved God's creatures from his evil. On the 22nd of the same month (3rd April, 1617) the watchman brought the news of a tiger. I mounted forthwith and despatched him with three bullets. On the 7th of Adi Bihisht (18th April, 1617) the watchman brought word that they had marked down four tigers. At one in the afternoon, I started for the place with Nurjahan Begum. Nur Jehan asked my leave to shoot the tiger with her gun. I said, "Be it so". In a trice, she killed these four tigers with six bullets. I had never seen such shooting. To shoot from the back of an elephant, from within a closed Howdah, and bring down with six bullets four wild beasts, without giving them an opportunity of moving or springing, is wonderful. In acknowledgment of this capital marksmanship, I ordered a thousand Gold Mohars to be scattered over Nur Jahan, and granted her a pair of ruby wristles worth a lakh of rupees."

The rains at that time were evidently more copious than they have been lately. Rain, it is said, fell for forty days

continuously, and Jahangir's description of the break which follows, is delightful—"What words of mine can describe the beauty of the grass and of the wild flowers! They clothe each hill and dale, each slope and plain. I know of no place so pleasant in climate and so pretty in scenery as Mandu in the rainy season. This month of July, which is one of the months of the hot season, the sun being in Leo, one cannot sleep within the house without a coverlet, and during the day there is no need for a fan. What I have noticed is but a small part of the many beauties of Mandu. Two things I have seen here, which I had seen no-where in India; one of them is the tree of the wild plantain which grows all over the hill-top; the other is the nest of the mamolah or wagtail. Till now no birdcatcher could tell about its nest. It so happened that in the building, where I lodged, we found a wagtail's nest with two young ones."

Another entry refers to a punitive expedition against a local Hindu Chief:—

"On the first of Tir, the fourth month of the Persian year (15th May, 1617), the Hindu Chiefs of the neighbourhood came to pay their respects and present a tribute. The Hindu Chief of Jaitpur, in the neighbourhood of Mandu, through his misfortune, did not come to kiss threshold. For this reason, I ordered Fidai Khan to pillage the Jaitpur country at the head of thirteen officers and four or five hundred matchlockmen. On the approach of Fidai Khan, the Chief fled. He is now reported to regret his past conduct, and to intend to come to the court and make his submission. On the 9th of Jur, the sixth month of the Persian Calender (late July A. D. 1617), I heard that while raiding the lands of the Chief of Jaitpur, Ruh-ul-Alh, the brother of Fidai Khan, was slain with a lance in the village where the Chief's wives and children were in hiding. The village was

burned, and the women and daughters of the rebel Chief were taken captives."

Of his social delights, he writes as follows:—

"On the evening of Thursday, the 19th of Amardad, the fifth month of the Persian year (early July A. D. 1617), I went with the ladies of the palace to see the buildings and palaces on the Sagar Lake, which were built by the old kings of Mandu. The 26th of Amardad (about mid July) was the Shab-i-Barat holiday. I ordered a jubilee or assembly of joy to be held on the occasion in one of the palaces occupied by Nur Jahan Begum in the midst of the biglake. The nobles and others were invited to attend this party which was organised by the Begum, and I ordered the cup and other intoxicants with various fruits and minced meats to be given to all, who wished them. It was a wonderful gathering. As evening set in, the lanterns and lamps, gleaming along the banks of the lake, made an illumination such as never had been seen. The countless lights with which the palaces and buildings were ablaze shining on the lake made the whole surface of the lake appear to be on fire."

During his stay in Mandu, Jehangir received a visit from his eldest son, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehan, who had returned from his victorious campaign in the Deccan. His last entry regarding Mandu is:—

"On the night of Friday, in the month of Aban, in all happiness and good fortune. I marched from Mandu and halted on the bank of the Lake of Nalcha."

Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador from King James of England to the great Moghul, accompanied Jehangir in his march from Ajmere to Mandu, and has left numerous records of that time.

SHAH JAHAN & MALWA.

After the death of Emperor Jehangir, his son Shah Jahan was crowned as Emperor. Just before the accession of Shah Jahan, Khan Jahan Lodi entered upon a dangerous and disloyal course. "He formed an alliance with Nizam-ul-Mulk, and gave up to him the Balaghat in the Deccan, the revenue of which amounted to fifty-five *krors* of *Dams*. But Sipahdar Khan, who held Ahmadnagar bravely and loyally, refused to surrender that city. Khan Jahan summoned to his presence all the Imperial servants who were in those parts. He left a small force at Burhanpur under the command of Sikandar Doltani, who was related to him, while he himself marched with a large force to Mandu, with the intention of taking possession of Malwa, which province was then under the government of Mir Abdur Razzak, who had received the title of Muzaffar Khan. Shah Jehan proceeded from Ahmedabad by way of Ajmer to Agra and there ascended the throne." (Bad-Shah Nama by Abdul Hamid Lahori).

"Imperial forces were after Khan-Jahan, so he in concert with Dariya Khan, his chief adherent and his sons, resolved to retire to Punjab. So he proceeded towards Malwa. The Emperor, by his sagacity and foresight, anticipated such a move, and sent Abdulla Khan to Malwa in order to chastise Dariya Khan. After Dariya had returned to Balaghat Abdulla Khan was directed to wait at the Payin-Ghat and to hasten after Dariya Khan wherever he might hear of him. Having got intelligence of his movements, Abdulla Khan went after him, and reported the facts to court."

"On the 24th Jumadal Awwal, the Emperor appointed Saiyad Muzaffar Khan to support Abdulla Khan and on the

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25th Rabi-ul-Awwal, he marched towards Malwa. He was directed to proceed by way of Bijagarh, and to cross the Narbada near Mandu. If he found Abdulla Khan there, he was directed to join him. He marched with all speed and crossed the river Nerbada at Akbarpur. Abdulla Khan, having heard that Khan-Jahan had crossed at Dharampur, he crossed the river at the same ford, and encamped at Lonihara. There he ascertained that on the 28th Jumadal Awwal, Khan-Jahan had moved off. He then proceeded to Depalpur, where he learnt that the rebels were plundering the neighbourhood of Ujjain, and he marched to Nulahi in search of them.

“On the 4th, Abdulla Khan reached Nulahi and Saiyad Muzaffar Khan, having left Dipalpur reached Man Kot on the 5th, on his way to Mandsor, where he learnt that the rebels had turned off to the right. On the 6th he again marched and came to Talegaon, and on that day Abdulla Khan came up from the rear and joined him. There they heard that the rebels were ten *KOS* distant the day before, and had moved off that very morning. So they hastened off in pursuit. On the 10th they encamped at Khilchipur, and ascertained that the rebels were moving towards Sironj. The royal forces reached Sironj on the 14th and found that the rebels had come there two days previously. Khwaja Baba-e-Aftab got into the city just before their arrival and joining Khwaja Abdul Hadi, who was in the palace, punished the rebels, who only succeeded in carrying off fifty of the royal elephants.” (Bad-Shah-Nama).

In the reign of Shah Jahan, another incident took place in Malwa. Abdul Hamid Lahori, in his Bad-Shah-Nama, says—“Bhagirat Bhil, chief of the disaffected in the province of Malwa, relying on the number of his followers and the strength of his fort of Khatakheri, had refused

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obedience to the governors of Malwa. He ventured to show his disaffection to Nasarat Khan, when he was governor, and the Khan marched from Sarangpur to chastise him. The Khan's fame as a soldier had its effect. Bhagirat Bhil gave up all hope of resistance, and seeking an introduction to Nasrat Khan through Sangram, Zamindar of Kanur, surrendered his fortress."

AURANGJEB & MALWA

After imprisoning his aged father Shahajahan, Aurangjeb ascended the imperial throne. He was one of the most powerful emperors of India. His name was associated with the history of Malwa from the time of his victory over Raja Jaswantsingh in the battle of Fatiabad, situated in Holker state near Ujjain. We deem it necessary to present a short account of this historical battle, the victory of which paved the way for Aurangjeb to the imperial throne.

BATTLE OF FATIABAD

In the struggle for empire amongst the sons of Shahajahan, Raja Jaysingh of Jaipur was commanded by the Emperor to oppose Shuja, who advanced from his viceroyalty of Bengal and Raja Jaswantsing was entrusted with the tedious task to quash the designs of Aurangzeb, who was making formidable preparations to secure the Imperial throne. Raja Jaswant singh was unequalled amongst the princes of his time and he served the Mugal emperor with great fidelity.

The Rathod prince was declared generalissimo of the army destined to oppose Aurangjeb, and he marched from Agra at the head of the united contingents of Rajputana, besides the imperial guards, a force which, to use the

hyperbole of the bard, "made Sheshnag writhe in Agony." Raja Jaswantsing marched towards Narbada and reached Ujjain at the end of February 1658, and encamped there. Uptil now he was quite in the dark about Aurangjeb's intentions and movements. In the meanwhile Jaswantsingh heard that Murad was coming from Gujrat with his army to join Aurangjeb, so he issued from Ujjain, took post near Khachrod to bar the enemy's path and sent his spies 'towards Murad's camp for further news. Murad was then 36 miles away, but on finding Jaswant's force greatly superior to his own, he prudently avoided a battle and making a wide tour round Khachrod arrived south of it in order to be near the Narbada and Aurangjeb's line of advance (History of Aurangjeb by Sarkar Page 348). Raja Jaswantsingh was greatly perplexed at this movement of Murad and he returned to Ujjain. Here a Brahman envoy, named Kavi Rai delivered to him Aurangjeb's message advising him to give up his opposition and return peacefully to Jodhpur as the prince was only going to Agra to visit his father without any thought of waging war. Jaswantsingh declined saying, "I must carry out the Emperor's orders. I can not retrace my steps without disgrace."

Raja Jaswantsingh's difficulties began to increase day by day. He failed to keep the two princes to join hands. Now he was to oppose their united forces. Emperor Shah-jahan was a man of weak disposition and he merely asked Raja Jaswantsingh to cause the two princes to return to their respective capitals, with as little injury as possible. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, a great authority on Mugal history, says in his "History of Aurangjeb" Page 352 "While Aurangjeb followed his own judgement only, knew his own mind and fired by the highest ambition, pursued his object with all his resources and singleness of his aim, ready to do and

dare his utmost,—Jaswant was hesitating, distracted by the conflict between the instructions from Agra and the exigencies of the actual military situation in Malwa. A general so situated can not have the advantage of taking the aggressive and forcing the enemy to "abandon his plans". Besides this several of the Muslim officers under Jaswant Singh were secretly on friendly terms with Aurangjeb, as they had been corrupted by him. Raja Jaswant Singh, though a great warrior of first rate, committed certain strategical blunders, which have gone a long way to effect his defeat in the war. This was why, that the contemporay historians blame him for his faulty plans. He made, according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, fatal mistake of desposing Artillery, while the enemy made havoc by artillery fire in the ranks of Jaswant Singh's army.

Jaswant Singh took up his position in a narrow swamp and uneven ground, which was quite unsuitable for strategical purposes. A fierce battle was fought and Jaswant Singh exhibited unrivalled courage and heroism. But these are not the only things, which can ensure success in the battle. Right strategy and several other factors contribute to a successful termination of the battle. Unfortunately our brave Rajputs, inspite of their unequalled chivalry, lacked in political foresight and right strategy in war.

However Raja Jaswant Singh mounted his steed and directed his troops to make charge on the armies of Aurangjeb and Shuja. Thousands of Moslems fell in the onset. But afterwards the scale turned in favour of Aurangjeb. The French and English gunners of the prince Aurangjeb quickly turned their guns sideways and began to mow down the Rajputs in their new position. In the words of Sir Jadunath Sarkar it was truly a contest between

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swords and gunpowder, and artillery triumphed over cavalry.

According to Ishwardas, Jaswant Singh wanted to ride into the struggle and get slain. But Askaran and other Pradhans seized his bridle and brought him away. Bernier says—"Quasimkhan, (the imperial companion of Jaswant Singh) ingloriously fled from the field, leaving Jaswant Singh exposed to the most imminent peril. That undaunted Raja was beset on all sides by an overwhelming force, and saved only by the affecting devotion of the Rajputs, the greater part of whom died at his feet." Manucci says.—"The Raja never ceased to fight most desperately, until at length he saw himself left with only the smallest remnant of force." (Quoted from Sir Jadunath Sarkar's History of Aurangjeb). After exhibiting unequalled bravery and heroism Jaswant Singh, being pressed by his companions, retired from the field. Aurangjeb founded a village Fatiabad —abode of Victory—as a memorial to this victory, which chalked out his way to the imperial throne.

Among the notable chiefs who fell in the battle were Mukund Singh Hada, Sujan Singh Sisodia, Ratan Singh Rathod, Arjun Singh Gaur, Dayaldas Jhala, and Mohan Singh Bada and some others. To Ratan Singh of Rutlam a noble monument was raised by his descendants on the spot where his corpse was burnt.

After his accession to the imperial throne it does not seem that Aurangjeb ever visited Malwa. From contemporary records it seems that Malwa was preponderantly Hindu province with a sturdy Rajput population. Malvites were totally opposed to the short sighted policy of temple destruction and poll tax on the Hindus. Their discontent was

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growing and they were seeking occasion to overthrow the Mughal regime in Malwa. The full account of their struggle, to win freedom and establish Hindu kingdom in Malwa will be given in the next volume.



